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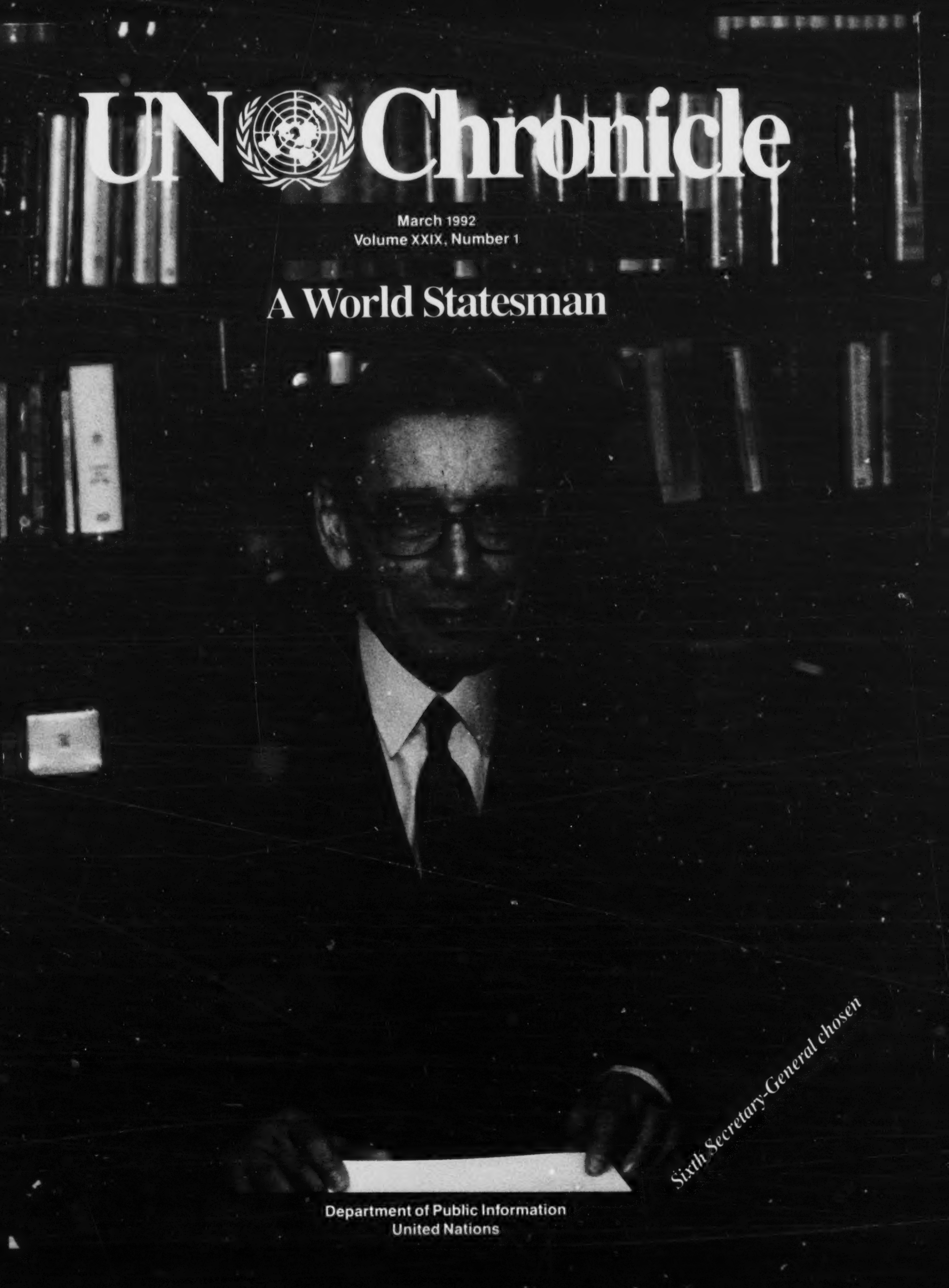
A World Statesman



Sixth Secretary-General chosen

Department of Public Information
United Nations

Welcome, Boutros Boutros-Ghali

"I do not claim to elevate the vision of the utopian city called for by the Islamic thinker Al Farabi to that of a utopian world, for I cannot promise to go beyond what is feasible and what is possible. Despite the close ties that bind me to optimism, my ties to realism are even closer."

With these words, from his address to the General Assembly on 3 December following his official appointment as the sixth Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros-Ghali set out an important goal of his administration—a more efficient, streamlined world Organization functioning smoothly in the new world order.

Outgoing Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar said he was "enormously happy" to leave his post "in the hands of an Egyptian intellectual and diplomat of notable skill and courage, who brings together experience, intelligence, maturity and dynamism". And, he added, who had the "vision and the pragmatism" that the UN needs during the "present complicated times and in the times to come".

So welcome to Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali, who took a few moments from his busy schedule to greet *UN Chronicle* readers from the cover of Issue I, 1992. He is pictured at his desk on the 38th floor of United Nations Headquarters in New York City.

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A QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

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CONTENTS

October 1991 — January 1992

COVER: *Special: The 38th Floor*
New Secretary-General chosen (p.2)
Goodbye to Pérez de Cuéllar (p.6)

THE NATIONS SPEAK: *General Debate, 1991* (pp.12-49)

THE 46TH ASSEMBLY:

Reform in the air (p.9)

Political News:

Agreements on Central America (p.50) and Cambodia (p.53); Progress in southern Africa (p.56); Iraq situation: Developments (p.58); Middle East negotiations begin (p.66); Zionism resolution rescinded (p.67); Hostages released (p.68); Western Sahara referendum delayed (p.69); Cyprus (p.70); Afghanistan (p.71) and Yugoslavia developments (p.72).

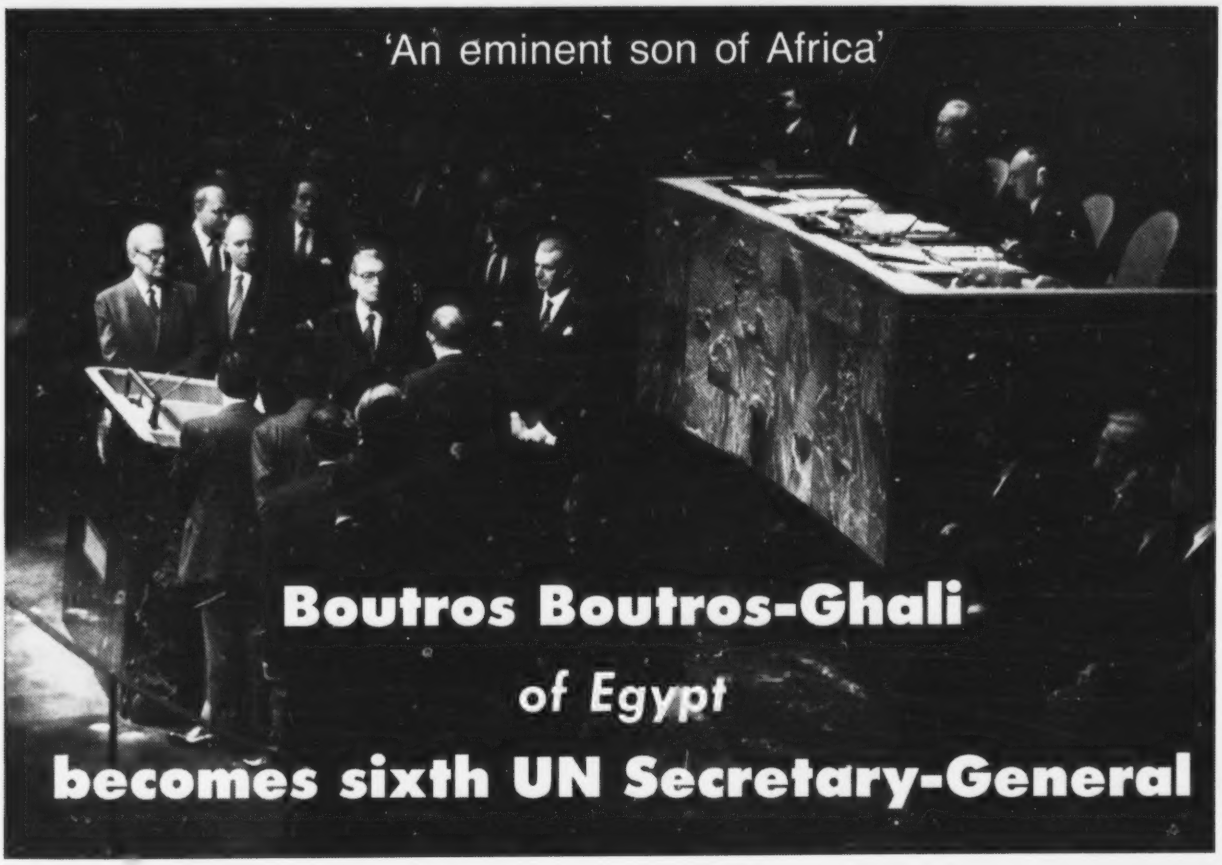
Committee Action:

Disarmament and security (p.74); Reports on poverty, LDCs, other development issues (p.77); Environment news (p.81); Disaster and refugees (p.82); Social issues (p.85); Ageing (p.86); Crime (p.87); Women (p.88); Decolonization (p.89); Legal matters (p.90).

IN EVERY ISSUE

BookWatch (p.91)
A Look Back—40th anniversary of UNPA (p.92)
Assembly Almanac (p.94)
Coming Up (p.96)

READEX
FICHE



'An eminent son of Africa'

Boutros Boutros-Ghali
of Egypt
becomes sixth UN Secretary-General

UN Photo 179967/M. Grant

- ***With peace as goal,***
- ***Dialogue as approach,***
- ***Harmony as hope***

The United Nations "belongs to all the peoples of the world", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali told hundreds of UN staff members assembled in the cavernous General Assembly Hall on 22 January 1992, three weeks after his first day in office on the 38th floor of the Secretariat.

"It represents, as my most distinguished predecessor, Señor Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, said in his farewell address to you last month, 'the best hope of all humanity'."

Fittingly, the appointment of this Egyptian scholar and statesman as the sixth UN Secretary-General was in itself seen to represent the hopes of an array of the world's peoples.

The "wise election" of Mr. Boutros-Ghali reflected the recognition of the important role in UN affairs by "three great communities —the African community, the Arab community and the vast community of what has come to be known as the third world", said outgoing Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar after the new UN leader's formal appointment on 3 December.

"Today's vote acknowledges not only the geopolitical importance of these communities and the justice of their yearnings and struggles, but also their active and positive participation in the deliberations of all United Nations bodies", added the former Secretary-General from Peru.

Of the other former UN leaders, three were from Europe and one from Asia. They include Norwegian Trygve Lie, the first Secretary-General who served through April 1953; Dag Hammarskjold of Sweden who died in office in 1961; U Thant of Burma (now Myanmar), who served from 1961 through 1971; and Austrian Kurt Waldheim, head of the Organization from 1972 through 1981.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali, a 69-year-old doctor of law and former Deputy Prime Minister of Egypt, was recommended for the post by the Security Council in its resolution 720 (1991), adopted unanimously by secret ballot during a private meeting on 21 November. On 3 December, by resolution 46/21, the Assembly appointed him as Secretary-General for a five-year term beginning 1 January 1992.

The election process actually began months earlier as it became clear that, after a decade in office, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar would most likely not be seeking a third term. The Council met informally for consultations on a number of candidates from a group of about a dozen contenders from several regions before convening on 21 November to decide on their final recommendation.

Among Mr. Boutros-Ghali's supporters was the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which included him on a list of six nominees from the continent. Africans had stressed that their region had not yet had the privilege of providing a Secretary-General for the UN.

Unanimous appointment

After his unanimous appointment by the Assembly, regional speakers variously described the new Secretary-General as: "an eminent son of Africa" with a spirtual heritage like the "Nile River, ever flowing and unrestricted"; an "internationalist"; and a man of "worldwide influence".

His "eminent qualities" would provide the best chance for realizing the role of the UN at a "delicate juncture in the modern history of international relations", said Assembly President Samir Shihabi of Saudi Arabia, after administering the oath of office within minutes of the Assembly action. "No time is more critical for the consolidation of peace on a durable basis in today's world than the near future we are facing."

Mr. Boutros-Ghali responded: "I am only too conscious of the magnitude of this task from this very moment. There are many areas of tension, conflict and confrontation on the international scene, areas where blood has been shed, where human creativity is destroyed and where the spirit of cooperation, integration and good neighbourliness faces grave challenges."

Many third world countries, including Africa, he continued, "are being strangled by the problems of debt, famine, development, human rights, the need for democratization and wave upon wave of displaced people. Environmental degradation of the planet which is our home adds even greater urgency to the need for action."

UN Photo

The new Secretary-General *(second from right)* entering the Secretariat building on his first day in office.

UN Photo 178959/M. Grant

Mr. and Mrs. Boutros-Ghali *(left)* with Mr. and Mrs. Pérez de Cuéllar.

Fluent in three of the six UN official languages—Arabic, English and French—the Secretary-General also stressed the value of belonging to an Arab African State, "which throughout the ages has been a crossroads for many cultures". His background impelled him to have "faith in peace and security as a goal, in dialogue and negotiation as an approach and in harmony and cooperation as a hope".

He said: "It is my fervent desire, as I discharge my duty, to communicate this cultural legacy through mutual cooperation and to raise the banner of peace wherever there is underdevelopment, conflict and tension in the world."

That the "banner of peace" was not flying over Yugoslavia, Somalia and other areas of international concern as he started his term made it all the more imperative for him to become quickly a vigorous part of the UN's growing role as global peacemaker.

A new momentum

In a brief meeting with UN senior officials on his first day in office on 2 January 1992, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali expressed the hope that the new momentum in the work of the Organization "will help us to play a more important role in peace-keeping, peace-building and in economic-social cooperation".

In his 3 December induction speech, he had given the Assembly a clear accounting of his priorities as Secretary-General. Seeing the "need for fundamental readjustments in response to a world in constant transformation", Mr. Boutros-Ghali outlined four basic issues confronting the international community:

First, that active preventive diplomacy and strengthening of the UN machinery were needed to enable the Organization to "fulfil its important objectives", not only in peace-keeping but also in peace-making and peace-building;

Second, it was necessary "to strive for the attainment of international economic development in all its aspects" in order to "narrow the gap between the rich North and the poor South". This would include "tackling the crippling problem of international debt" and addressing issues of environment and development;

Third, in his role as chief administrative officer of the UN, he would look to streamline its operations, "eliminating what is wasteful or obsolete" and ensuring that the mandates entrusted to him were carried out "faithfully, accurately and without delay". He welcomed every proposal from within and without towards this end;

And fourth, he stressed the Organization's role in "strengthening fundamental freedoms and democratic institutions", a prerequisite to economic and social development. "If there is no development without democracy, there can also be no democracy without development", he said. "We must not see democracy as a magic potion which will cure all ills."

Seeking reform

Amid global political, social and economic concerns, there were also pressing issues of a more parochial nature. One of the biggest challenges facing the UN was organizational reform, which had the new Secretary-General "deeply engaged" in studying more than 22 reports during his first month in office.

In his address to UN staff, Mr. Boutros-Ghali said that "the Organization will need to review all aspects of its machinery for the maintenance of international peace and security", in order to ensure that the UN was fully adapted to "new requirements of international action".

As the UN "plays an increasingly operational role, programme performance becomes more important, and its criteria have become quite concrete", he maintained. "From a consultative, deliberative body, our Organization has become an increasingly operational institution. The nature of administration and management must therefore change."

Another problem was financial insolvency—the only respect in which the UN "balance sheet" was "negative", noted former Secretary-General Pérez de Cuéllar in his welcoming speech to Mr. Boutros-Ghali. At the start of the new administration, member Governments owed the UN more than $800 million in back assessments.

A "hand-to-mouth existence" was unworthy of the Organization, which formed "the linchpin of international cooperation", said Mr. Boutros-Ghali at a dinner in his honour on 14 January in London during his first trip abroad as UN Secretary-General.

Optimism, assurance

But his outlook has predominantly been one of optimism and assurance. "Today, the Organization is engaged in the full panorama of international issues, and is again playing the major part foreseen for it by the drafters of the San Francisco Charter in 1945", said Mr. Boutros-Ghali in his speech to UN staff members.

"Over the last few years, the Organization has, in some ways, changed greatly", he said. "Its relevance has been re-established. At the same time, novel and far-reaching problems are being placed on our agenda. It will be our task to build on the foundations which have now been so effectively reinforced."

Such far-reaching tasks seem well suited to the sixth Secretary-General who came to the job with four decades of varied and extensive experience in world affairs, as a diplomat, jurist, scholar and widely-published author.

Before his appointment as Deputy Prime Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt last May, Mr. Boutros-Ghali had served as Minister of State for Foreign Affairs since 1977. His entrance into the diplomatic corps was marked by a major role in negotiations of the Camp David Accords between Egypt and Israel, which were signed in 1979.

He led the Egyptian delegation to the Assembly for the first time in 1979 and thereafter, in 1982 and 1990. He also headed his country's delegation to meetings of the OAU, and to the Summit Conference of the French and African Heads of State, among others.

He has been a member of the UN Commission of International Law since 1979 and was an International Labour Organization committee member from 1971 to 1979. He has also participated in numerous international conferences.

UN Photo 179105/M. Grant

Holding consultations.

Born in Cairo in 1922, the Secretary-General has historical links with high government office. His grandfather was Prime Minister of Egypt and his father was Minister of Finance.

After receiving a Ph.D in international law from the University of Paris in 1949, Mr. Boutros-Ghali was a professor of international law and international relations at Cairo University, his undergraduate alma mater, until 1979. He has also been a Fulbright Research Scholar at Columbia University, Director of the research center at The Hague Academy of International Law in the Netherlands, and a lecturer at numerous other universities on five continents.

Awards, honours

During his career, the Secretary-General received awards and honours from 24 countries and authored more than 100 publications and articles on international affairs, law and diplomacy, economics and political science. He also founded the publication *Al Ahram Iktisadi*, which he edited from 1960 to 1975.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali not only presides over the UN during a milestone period when the goals of the Charter seem within reach, but his term will also include the UN's fiftieth anniversary in 1995.

"We must begin preparing at once to make this anniversary an event that will mark the history of international relations and give a new dimension to our institution", he told UN staff members.

Calling them "dear colleagues and friends—for when we are colleagues we are friends", the Secretary-General concluded: "With confidence, enthusiasm and fervour, we shall work together, cooperate together and struggle together to strengthen the dialogue between peoples and nations, maintain peace and promote cooperation—new cooperation between East and West in the wake of the cold war and ongoing cooperation between North and South, pursued since the end of the decolonization period."

Goodbye to Pérez de Cuéllar: A 'most productive decade' at the UN

From periphery to centre

UN Photo

Bidding goodbye to the outgoing Secretary-General.

In 1981, the election of the experienced Peruvian diplomat Javier Pérez de Cuéllar as the fifth Secretary-General of the United Nations was welcomed by then General Assembly President Ismat Kittani of Iraq who declared: "May the United Nations, under his leadership, move further forward in becoming the centre for harmonizing actions as foreseen in the Charter."

Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar responded that he would not make any promises. Though his words were constrained, his efforts were not. In the course of two terms, the quiet but determined Secretary-General would indeed lead the UN to an unprecedented role in "harmonizing" world affairs.

As he neared the end of his tenure last fall, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar summed up his 10 years at the UN as "a most productive decade". The Organization had "faced remarkable fluctuations in the international climate. We have confronted stalemates and witnessed breakthroughs. We have seen the United Nations move from the periphery to near the centre of international relations."

Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar told the annual UN Correspondents Association luncheon in memory of former UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold: "At the beginning, there was an atmosphere shadowed by the reserve and aloofness of major powers towards the United Nations. Today, that has changed into enthusiastic participation."

The "extinction of the bipolarity associated with the cold war" had removed the factor that "virtually immobilized" international relations over four decades and had cured the Security Council's "paralysis", said Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar in his final report to the General Assembly *(A/46/1)* in September 1991.

At the same time, "a slow but meticulous process of institutional self-analysis", combined with efforts to "streamline" the Secretariat, had resulted in a rejuvenated UN, which had the capacity not only to guard, but also to build peace in a variety of situations, he stated.

High-profile, UN-sponsored happy endings under Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar's leadership included the termination of the war between Iran and Iraq, the conclusion of the Geneva Agreements leading to the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, and the emergence of Namibia as an independent State.

Most recently, the signing of peace accords for Cambodia, release of most Western hostages held in Lebanon and an agreement for a peace plan for El Salvador—reached at UN Headquarters during the final moments of Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar's last day in office on 31 December—were a tribute to his quiet diplomacy.

The former Secretary-General declared that, in different ways, new precedents had been set as "never before" in Namibia, Haiti, Angola, Nicaragua and most notably in Central America, particularly El Salvador.

The new mission to provide transitional authority during the process of national reconciliation in Cambodia, a second peace-keeping mission in Angola and the observer mission for the referendum in Western Sahara were more recent initiatives, while the UN continued older peace-keeping missions in Cyprus, the Middle East, Central America and Kashmir.

Moreover, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar reported, the UN was conducting some missions—such as those related to the Iraq-Kuwait situation—that would have been "unthinkable in the previous era".

Indeed, as opposed to 13 field operations launched during the UN's first 43 years, 5 were mounted in 1988 and 1989, and 4 during 1990 alone. In 1988, some 40 years of UN peace-keeping was recognized with the award of the prestigious Nobel Peace Prize.

"Never before in the history of the Organization were so many new insights gained about the varied tasks of keeping, making or building the peace in areas riven or threatened by conflict", according to Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar's review of his two terms as UN Secretary-General.

Activity, not argument, had thus answered two questions about the UN that had "troubled the public mind through most of its existence", he continued. "One, whether it could ever muster the power to repair breaches of the peace and reverse acts of aggression; two, whether the Secretariat would be able to execute the increasingly versatile projects of peace. The answers are affirmative. The effectiveness of the United Nations can no longer be in doubt."

In a farewell speech on 20 December, the outgoing UN leader saluted Secretariat staff, saying:

Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar taking the oath of office in December 1981.

UN Photo 148650/M. Grant

"The spirit of internationalism and dedication that dwells in this house is a priceless asset to the international community. In years to come, historians may conclude that, during our time together, we made a good start in the task of bringing our Organization back where it belongs—into the centre of international relations."

"We have seen history made", he continued. "It is as if a political ice age had ended. As the ice has melted, there is already evidence of new beginnings, early fruit of a new climate."

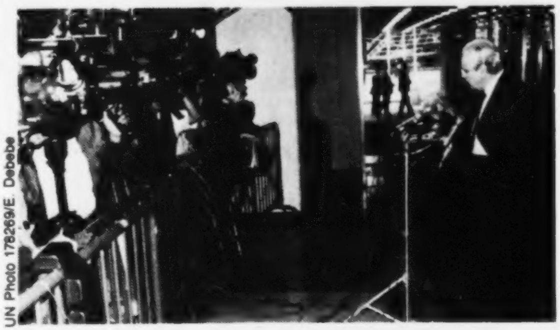
However, the future of the UN was "by no means clear", as even more complex and demanding challenges lay ahead for the Organization, he said. "The retreat of the ice mass" had also exposed the basic realities of conflict, ethnic strife, political and economic inequalities, disregard for human rights and increasing threats to the planet.

Indeed, "a negative aspect of recent years has been the contrast between the lofty tasks entrusted to us by Member Governments on the one hand, and on the other, their attitude to the provision of resources" needed to fulfil those mandates, he said. "One of my deepest regrets is that, despite all my efforts, the Organization remains in a precarious financial situation."

In a farewell statement to the Assembly on 16 December, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar also called on the world body to "address itself more seriously to the great divide in the world today, the divide between the rich nations and the poor". This, along with the universalization of the human rights regime, is a fundamental issue of the new age.

"When I ask myself the question as to what should dominate the concerns of the United Nations in the coming years", said the former Secretary-General, "the answer comes easily: An agenda of justice."

Ten Years of Distinguished Service ...


UN Photo 178269/E. Debebe

Meeting the press ...

(September 1991, New York)

UN Photo 163624/J. Isaac

... and the peoples of the world.

UN Photo 163608/J. Isaac

Travelling for peace ...

UN Photo 163621/J. Isaac

A skilled negotiator ...

(With King of Jordan in Amman).

UN Photo 163975/J. Isaac

A hands-on administrator.

(With UNDOF in the field, 1984).

UN Photo 174142

Accepting the Nobel Peace Prize for UN peace-keeping.

(Oslo, Norway, December 1988).

Reform proposals circulate during 46th Assembly

UN faces 'dangerously precarious' financial situation

UN Photo 177993/M. Grant

A minute of silence on 17 September—before the action begins.

With a new Secretary-General on the 38th floor, reform of the United Nations is in the air at the Headquarters of the world Organization.

During the forty-sixth General Assembly, which began its work on 17 September, intensive discussions have taken place on reforming the work and structure of the world body. Under scrutiny was a plan worked out by 22 industrial and developing countries, including the five permanent Security Council members, intended to streamline the Secretariat and increase the Secretary-General's authority.

Views were also exchanged on a ''working paper'' submitted by Australia, and on a Nordic proposal focusing on reforms in the economic and social fields. Discussions on UN reform will continue in 1992, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali indicated on 22 January, stating he would make initial decisions in this regard soon.

The 22-nation plan would, among other things, deprive certain countries of senior posts they very often have automatically claimed. UN rules stipulate that international civil servants should be responsible first and foremost to the Organization.

The new plan disapproves of what has been called the Organization's ''top-heavy'' administration, under which 30 to 40 high-ranking officials report directly to the Secretary-General. That structure grew over the years in a series of ''ad hoc responses to specific problems'' and as a result of the ''distorting effect'' of the cold war, the plan stated.

It proposes a pyramid-like administrative structure, with the Organization's work divided into four major departments: political and security affairs; social, humanitarian and human rights affairs; development, economic and environmental questions; and management, finance, and secretariat services. Each would be headed by a Deputy Secretary-General. (Currently the Secretariat has 16 Under-Secretaries-General heading

UN Photo 178002/M. Grant

Counting the votes.

departments.) Those four deputies would supervise the work of a third layer of about 20 Under-Secretaries-General with more clearly-defined responsibilities.

The plan speaks of "a widespread consensus" that the UN must be restructured if it is "to provide support for the expanded range of activities which Member States expect and the increasingly important role of the Secretary-General". It says it is "unreasonable to impose on the new Secretary-General a structure which he or she will find so much difficulty in managing, which reflects past problems not present realities, and which the new Secretary-General, as chief administrative officer, has had no input in shaping".

The plan breaks radically with present practice by proposing that no more than one national of any member country may serve as an Under-Secretary-General or higher at the same time. And it says no senior official should be succeeded by a national of the same State.

Australia's working paper advocates certain key proposals, including: a single seven-year term of office for the UN Secretary-General; vacancies for other senior jobs to be publicly announced; establishment of a senior management team to set priorities and direction; a coordinated action programme to advance the status of women in the Secretariat; and introduction of modern personnel methods.

$1 billion owed

Under-Secretary-General Ronald Spiers, who heads the UN division that organizes the work of the General Assembly, said on 16 January that the UN's financial crisis was a "very, very serious problem". Member States owed the Organization over $1 billion. The United States, the largest contributor, was over $400 million in arrears.

"The financial crisis will be the focus of attention in 1992", he declared at a special briefing for non-governmental organizations at Headquarters. "Something has to be done about the matter."

On 4 December, outgoing Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar unveiled proposals to provide the "elements of a viable, durable solution" to the UN's "dangerously precarious financial condition".

He wanted measures to deal with the cash flow problems caused by the exceptionally high levels of unpaid contributions and inadequate working capital (reserves),

Major Assembly action

Among the major actions taken were adoption of:

- A body of principles to protect persons with mental illness and improve mental health care.
- A set of Principles for Older Persons, in which older persons have the right to make decisions about their care and quality of life, among other things.
- A "New Agenda" for African recovery, containing recommendations for sustained and sustainable growth and development beyond 1991.

The Assembly also called for:

- A universal and non-discriminatory register of conventional arms on international arms transfers, as well as information on military holdings, procurement through national production and relevant policies;
- A total ban on the large-scale pelagic drift-net fishing by the end of 1992. (As an interim measure leading to the total ban, a reduction by 50 per cent in drift-net fishing efforts by 30 June 1992 was called for.);
- Appointment of a high-level UN Emergency Relief Coordinator, with access to a new $50-million central emergency revolving fund, to be financed through voluntary contributions; and
- Designation of a senior official as a focal point to handle requests from Member States for coordinating assistance for electoral verification.

A large number of resolutions called for continuing and new special programmes of emergency and humanitarian assistance to countries hit by war or natural disaster.

such as: interest should be charged on amounts of assessed contributions not paid on time; the Organization's financial regulations should be suspended to permit the retention of budgetary surpluses; and the Working Capital Fund should be increased to a level of $250 million from 1 January 1992. Also called for was the establishment of a temporary Peace-keeping Reserve Fund, at a level of $50 million, to meet initial expenses of peace-keeping operations.

A Humanitarian Revolving Fund would be established at a level of $50 million by a one-time assessment on Member States. It would be used in emergency humanitarian situations, pending receipt of pledged contributions from donor Governments and others. A UN Peace Endowment Fund would be established with an initial target level of $1 billion, from both assessed and voluntary contributions.

Reliance on existing conventional financing arrangements had proved "woefully deficient". The UN could "only lurch from one state of financial desperation to another, unable, for all practical purposes, to meet its current cash commitments, let alone to plan ahead", the Secretary-General stated.

On 16 January, Mr. Spiers stressed that the programme budget of $2.3 billion for the biennium 1992-1993 had been adopted by consensus on 20 December for the second time in UN history. Particular attention was given to maintenance of international peace and security, economic development, environment issues and drug control.

A 'work-oriented' Assembly

The forty-sixth Assembly, whose agenda spanned the spectrum of world concerns, would be remembered for the election of the new Secretary-General and a major expansion in its membership, Mr. Spiers told his audience. It would also be remembered for its action—taken for the second time in its history—of rescinding a resolution adopted by it earlier. Resolution 3379 (XXX) had determined that "zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination". On 16 December, that determination was revoked.

Debates in the Assembly and the Committees were conducted in a "work-oriented manner", unlike in earlier years when they were "tedious, too long and repetitive". The debates were also "not acrimonious".

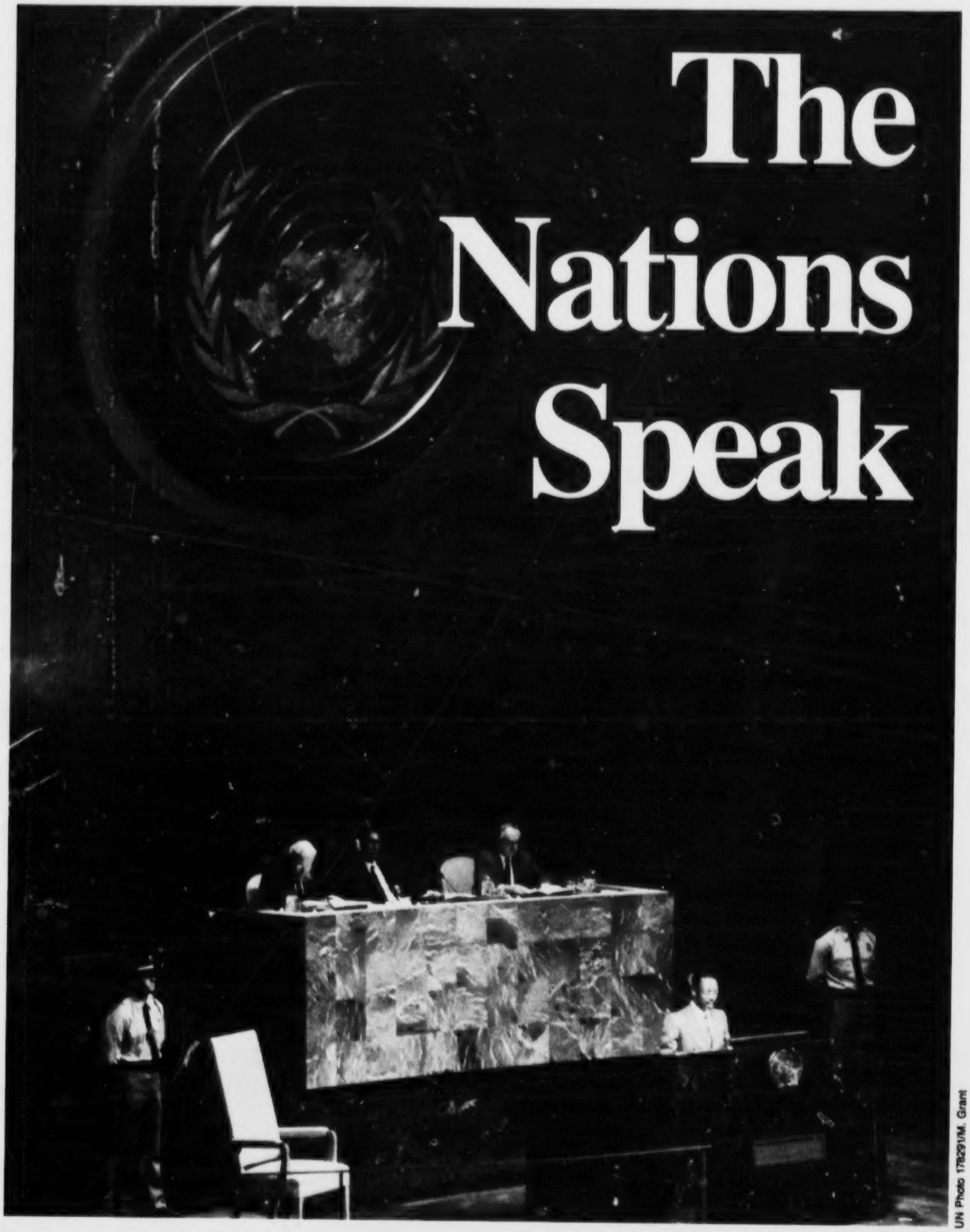
The Assembly, he pointed out, had considered a 147-item agenda, 11 items less than the record number in 1982. Of 281 resolutions adopted in 79 plenary meetings, 74 per cent were adopted without vote, about the same as 1990. In 1989, some 65 per cent were adopted without a vote; the year before, a little more than 50 per cent were by consensus.

On 20 December, upon suspension of the forty-sixth session, Assembly President Samir S. Shihabi of Saudi Arabia said that "constructive deliberations" of the Assembly, at a time when the world was witnessing the "heralding of a new and more positive era in international relations", had confirmed the UN's "great effective role" and the Assembly's "centrality", especially in the context of the "present evolving new world arrangements".

UN Photo 178144/M. Grant

Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar at a luncheon for world leaders.

The Nations Speak



UN Photo 178291/M. Grant

A record number of 162 speakers came to the marble podium of the General Assembly Hall during the Assembly's 1991 "general debate"—a three-week period at the beginning of each session when Member States express their views on the full range of problems on the world agenda. The highest number of speakers previously had been 155, in 1990.

From 23 September to 10 October, 24 Heads of State, 10 Prime Ministers, 10 Deputy Prime Ministers, 94 Foreign Ministers, 5 Deputy Foreign Ministers and 19 representatives addressed the Assembly—whose membership now totals 166—between 23 September to 10 October.

"This virtually universal participation, at the very highest levels, once again demonstrates the unique nature of this global forum", Assembly President Samir S. Shihabi of Saudi Arabia remarked at the conclusion of the debate. He stressed that the presence and participation of such a large number of eminent statesmen and world leaders showed a clear affirmation of their commitment to the UN and its Charter. The speakers, he stated, expressed a common determination to strengthen the UN role so that it could become a "major factor of global stability in a rapidly changing world" at "this delicate stage in world affairs".

Annual General Debate

'A common acknowledgement of positive action'

Nearly all the statements, according to the Assembly President, emphasized the growing need for the UN to "play a larger and more pivotal role in the evolving new world arrangements, as an irreplaceable global institution for the promotion of peace, justice and international cooperation", based on fundamental Charter principles.

The debate had demonstrated, he said, "a common acknowledgement among Member States of the positive relaxation in international tensions and a common desire to work towards the peaceful settlement of outstanding disputes, the strengthening of international peace and security, the amelioration of underdevelopment and poverty, and the exploration of new approaches to deal with the proliferation of socio-economic, environmental and humanitarian problems".

Also, it had been characterized by a deep awareness of the problems confronting the world community, a strong desire for dialogue and mutual understanding and overall, a constructive and productive attitude, President Shihabi concluded.

UN Photo 178366/M. Grant

New era

There was near universal acclaim that dialogue, cooperation and accommodation had increasingly come to dominate world thinking. The past 12 months had seen the unfolding of monumental world events in quick succession that "defied imagination", as one speaker put it.

King Don Juan Carlos I of Spain stated that the end of the cold war had opened up very hopeful prospects for mankind though the world was not yet free of tensions and risks. "We have recently witnessed spectacular changes, which, we hope, have irreversibly ushered in a new climate of *détente* and cooperation, where confrontation and mistrust formerly reigned."

President Jorge Serrano Elias of Guatemala expressed the hope that "a new order" would not be based on "arrogance and the abuse of power, but rather on the established principles of international law, the self-determination of peoples and non-intervention".

Gulf crisis

Referring to the Gulf crisis, it was affirmed that the UN had reasserted its importance and had tangibly demonstrated its potential for collective action. Prime Minister Jozsef Antall of Hungary reflected the sentiments of the majority of speakers when he said that the "unprecedented concerted international action" aimed at upholding international law during the crisis was the "first practical, post-cold war manifestation of cooperation based on global partnership".

He added: "We look upon the experience of that war as both a milestone and a precedent in respect to the conflict management possibilities and involvement of the United Nations." It was the first time since the UN's establishment that the "hitherto nominal function" of the UN system of collective security had been put into practice.

The continuing international economic crisis was the focus of a large number of statements. It was pointed out that many of the world's developing countries continued to suffer from the problems of grinding poverty, sluggish growth, burgeoning debt and population growth.

President Fernando Collor of Brazil said it was "incongruous that three quarters of mankind should live in pitiful and often inhuman situations of poverty". President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe declared that the UN should play a central role in the management of international economic relations and in assisting in the efforts of developing countries to achieve sustained growth and development and eradicate poverty.

Other topics

Other principal topics discussed by speakers concerned the situations in the Middle East, southern Africa, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Central America, Cyprus, drug abuse and illicit trafficking, the UN's financial crisis and the growing degradation of the environment.

Positive changes in South Africa were welcomed, but speakers maintained that continued pressure on Pretoria was necessary for a successful outcome of current moves towards a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Parties to the conflict in Yugoslavia were asked to settle their differences peacefully and the stationing of a UN peace-keeping force in that country was fully backed.

A solution to the Afghan imbroglio was proposed on the basis of the Secretary-General's 21 May five-point statement. Delegates were optimistic that a final settlement of the conflicts in El Salvador and Cambodia—both of which had gone on for the past 12 years—was in sight. Enthusiastic support was voiced for the Secretary-General's continuing efforts to resolve the Cyprus situation.

Delegates looked forward to the UN Conference on Environment and Development, to be held in Rio de Janeiro in June, for practical solutions to the world's worsening environmental problems.

Africa

A quest for solidarity, self-sufficiency

UN Photo 178749/J. Isaac

President Babangida of Nigeria

Much of the world may be invigorated by the taste of *détente*, but Africa still sips the bitter brew of underdevelopment, natural disaster and civil war. The message from the continent, where at least 140 million people live in utter poverty, was a refusal to be marginalized in the new-found spirit of international solidarity.

Many speakers believed that the UN Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development (1986-1990) had had virtually no success in helping to revitalize the continent.

Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), hoped that the newly established African Economic Community, in conjunction with the "New Agenda of Action for the Development of Africa in the 1990s", would help realize the goal of a "fully developed Africa, able to feed itself, capable of being the engine of its own growth and able to participate actively in the world economic system".

African speakers agreed that self-sufficiency was the cornerstone of development, but called fervently for the active cooperation of the North to resolve debt burdens, create fair commodity prices and transfer appropriate technology. "The revitalization of North-South dialogue has become more urgent than ever", said Foreign Minister Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi of Mozambique. "One can hardly build a full democracy in a world in which 15 per cent of the population consumes 70 per cent of the total production."

Most African States acknowledged that the lessening of international tensions had helped to mitigate some long-standing regional conflicts. They welcomed important steps towards peace in Angola and Western Sahara, and other efforts, however tenuous, in Liberia, Mozambique and elsewhere. They regretted the continuing violence in Rwanda, Somalia and Sudan. Many called for more international aid to deal with tens of thousands of refugees displaced by the devastations of war and natural disaster.

As for South Africa, the usual denunciations of apartheid were tempered with support for the reform process currently under way. King Mswati III, leader of neighbouring Swaziland, was "confident that the South African people will find solutions which will cater to the aspirations of all groups and bring about a permanent end to the violence which has been a feature of life there for so long".

Other Africans were not so convinced. "The repeal of some of the key pillars of apartheid" was not enough, said Namibian Foreign Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab. He added: "All vestiges of apartheid must be eradicated without delay in order to pave the way for the commencement of serious negotiations."

Regional organizations were considered crucial to both the political and economic reconstruction of Africa. Liberian President Amos Sawyer called for the establishment of a regional defense system modelled on the Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), a peace-keeping force in Liberia.

From the debate

ALGERIA Foreign Minister Lakhdar Brahimi said that the crises involving the questions of Palestine and of South Africa—both with a colonialist character—had seen parallel developments over the years. ''But now we are witnessing positive changes, which are very encouraging in the case of South Africa, whereas the situation remains critical and complicated in the case of Palestine''. He called upon Member States to ''consider this disparity'', asserting that it stemmed from the ''firm position of collective solidarity adopted by the international community *vis-a-vis* the minority in South Africa'', as opposed to ''the policy of connivance adopted by major States—States that have influence on Israel and its daily excesses''—in relation to the Palestinian cause.

ANGOLA Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem said that the recent peace agreement between his Government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) ''constitutes undoubtedly one of the most remarkable events in contemporary history'' for the Angolan people. Constitutional revisions and new legislation that would facilitate multi-party elections ''will open the doors to broader prospects for the full exercise of democracy'' and ''create an environment of greater openness and trust in our relations with other countries and entities that want to do business with us''.

BENIN Foreign Minister Théodore Holo said that while an ''obsession with military security is no longer appropriate'', additional challenges from ''continuous deterioration of the international socio-economic situation which poses another threat to international peace and security'' would have to be taken up. ''Indeed poverty, want, famine, malnutrition, sickness, drug abuse, the deterioration of the environment kill more people in a few days than did the Hiroshima bomb. . . . And nowhere is the situation as serious as in Africa.'' The existence of those ills was decidedly ''unacceptable at the end of the twentieth century''.

BOTSWANA Foreign Minister Gaositwe K. T. Chiepe declared ''the time has come for the people of South Africa to proceed to the conference table to negotiate a new democratic dispensation for their country'', despite the fact that some conditions set out by the UN ''may not have been met in letter and spirit''. She said ''there is today an atmosphere of relatively free political activity in South Africa, free enough at least to allow the convening of an all-party conference to negotiate a new constitution''. The UN ''must continue to insist on the cessation of violence''. The ''onus for the maintenance of law and order rests with the South African Government''.

BURKINA FASO Foreign Minister Issa Dominique Konate, while stressing that ''no one is against human rights'', cautioned against the ''re-emergence of dangerous behaviour in the guise of innocent or consensual ideas. Yesterday, encroachment took place in the guise of the civilizing mission. Today, we must fear encroachment on the pretext of human rights.'' He also called for a broader ''vision of human rights'' to include ''the right to development, to food, to a roof over one's head, to basic health care and to education''. Noting his country's recent adoption of a constitution and free elections, Mr. Konate said ''it is of the utmost importance to reconcile human rights and the right to development in a period as crucial as that of the transition to democracy''.

UN Photo 178370/J. Isaac

BURUNDI Cyprien Mbonimpa, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, said that his country had ''rejected division; they have rejected the law of the jungle, hatred and all forms of exclusion'' with the recent adoption of the Charter of National Unity. More than 10,000 refugees had returned to Burundi, the vast majority from neighbouring United Republic of Tanzania, which had promised ''to grant

Tanzanian nationality to Burundi refugees who for one reason or another have chosen to live permanently in that country''. He also appealed to the parties to the conflict in Rwanda ''to respect the cease-fire agreement signed in N'Sele on 29 March this year and without delay to embark on negotiations to find a lasting solution''.

UN Photo 178390/M. Grant

CAMEROON Foreign Minister Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh said that ''the need to reconcile assistance to the countries of Eastern Europe and the imperatives of international solidarity for the struggle against poverty is today undeniably a profound obligation if we do not want the disappearance of the Iron Curtain to lead to the building of a stronger wall of poverty between North and South''. He cited the addition of four more African countries to the category of least developed, a term already applied to two thirds of the continent, as a ''sad illustration'' of the problem. ''There is now apparent a growing awareness of the need to tackle this situation, which is extremely grave, more forcefully.''

CAPE VERDE Foreign Minister Jorge Carlos Fonseca, describing a ''climate conducive to human rights violations'', and ''a world where arbitrary imprisonment, torture and the denial of the most fundamental human rights predominate'', stated that ''existing United Nations mechanisms are ineffective in coping with such situations''. The ''universal plague'' of human rights violations reached ''alarming proportions'' in situations of civil war. ''What is even more alarming is that the United Nations witnesses all these crimes, incapable of taking measures to save lives or protect the defenceless population.'' The 1993 World Conference on Human Rights would hopefully help find an answer to these problems. He believed that sovereignty ''should be seen as a shield to protect the people and not as an instrument, a weapon to be used against their basic rights or to annihilate them''.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC Foreign Minister Laurent Gomina-Pampali suggested that trends made possible by ''the new climate of international relations might have been extended also to other spheres of cooperation needed for balance in a changing world. But that has not happened, as witness the strictly limited cooperation among States in so fundamental an area as development.'' He saw ''a gap between the aspirations of the majority of the world's peoples and the international community's response to those aspirations''. The answer, he said, was to integrate the ''concept of development with that of security: strictly military security . . . has now been annulled because of the disappearance of the very underpinnings of the principle—the rivalry between the two blocs''.

CHAD Foreign Minister Ahmed Soungui announced a national conference in May 1992 to draw up a constitution and ''establish the framework for democracy. In a country which for more than 30 years lived under a series of bloody dictatorships, we shall have a difficult apprenticeship, but this is our irreversible choice.'' Faced with administrative reorganization, reduction of ''a greatly over-staffed army'' and disorganized production structures, combined with the devastations of drought, desertification, floods and the reintegration of refugees, Chad would ''have to fight on several fronts''.

COMOROS Said Hassane Said Hachim, Minister of State and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, reaffirmed ''the determination of the Government and the people of Comoros to continue their tireless efforts to bring about the reintegration of the Comorian Island of Mayotte into the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros and its three sister islands''. The ''painful problem'', which had existed for 16 years, deserved ''a speedy solution'' from the UN ''at a time when the Organization would seem to have regained its prestige, when its credibility has been restored and its decisions are being complied with''. Comoros was ''always open to all paths leading to a peaceful solution, as part of the good relations that exist between France and Comoros''.

CONGO Jean Blaise Kololo, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, said that both internal conditions and international pressure had created ''the democratic wind that is blowing through Africa and in particular the Republic of the Congo''. The national conference mechanism had ''made it possible to implement, with variations for each country and each people, the general outline of the democratic process flourishing elsewhere''. The environment was another priority question demanding "that States act and cooperate closely". Looking forward to multilateral action, Congo wanted the requirements for development and for the protection of the environment reconciled through the establishment of a special fund.

CÔTE D'IVOIRE Foreign Minister Amara Essy said that "we are unfortunately obliged to recognize the grim facts". The UN five-year Programme of Action for African recovery had "not lived up to its promises, for it has done little to improve the results of the African economies". The unsatisfactory results "have enabled us to establish once and for all the fact that the question of African economic development cannot be properly dealt with without a radical solution to the continent's external debt problem". Commodity prices were also integral to finding a solution to the debt problem. "The law of supply and demand is justified in relations among countries with the same level of development, but not in relations between developed and developing countries. There can be no liberty without equality."

UN Photo 178581/M. Grant

DJIBOUTI Moumin Bahdon Farah, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, commended the UN Secretary-General for his "urgent appeals to the international community to help those countries that are afflicted by the double scourge of constant drought and civil war". While economic indicators for Africa continue to fall, "we must not forget the human suffering that is not shown in these figures". Regarding the "tragic situation" in Somalia, international action, similar to that undertaken by the Security Council to end the fighting in Yugoslavia, was desirable, Mr. Farah said, "so that the nation of Somalia does not disappear completely". Peace was necessary not only for "humanitarian and fraternal reasons", but also because "the stability and economic development of Djibouti are very closely linked to stability and peace in the region".

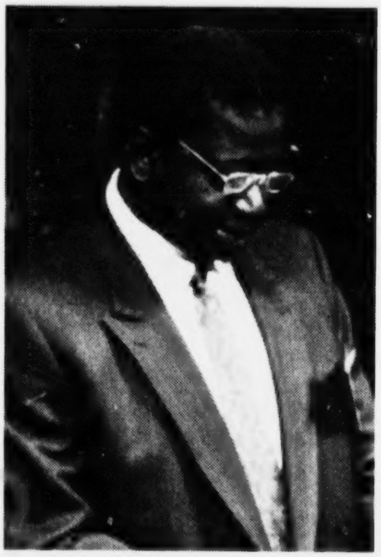
EGYPT Foreign Minister Amre Moussa said that one of the more important lessons learned from the Gulf crisis was that economic interdependence "is closely linked to security interdependence and that security should be taken seriously in the context of global regional legitimacy". The Gulf States, Egypt and Syria had, therefore, agreed on a mutual security pact, "based on the instruments of joint Arab action" and "on new bases of consensus and understanding". Believing that disarmament was also essential to security in the region, he reaffirmed the Egyptian initiative for the elimination of weapons of mass destruction and called on Israel to join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. "Our region has its specific characteristics and its own political reality, which we cannot overlook but ought to change with responsible action by all parties without exception."

EQUATORIAL GUINEA Damaso-Obiang Ndong, Permanent Representative to the UN, resolutely supported the Secretary-General's "idea to convene a world summit on social development" and noted "with sadness and a sense of powerlessness the emphasis with which the problem of human rights is dealt with here, disregarding what in our view, should be given the highest priority: . . . poverty, want, hunger and disease to which virtually more than half the people of the world are victim". He was also concerned about "the continued and persistent functioning of the protectionist system, which has not only made the Uruguay Round unfruitful, but also had negative effects on a country such as ours, which is correctly categorized as among the least developed".

ETHIOPIA Foreign Minister Seyoum Mesfin noted "with regret and sadness the deafening silence of the United Nations system in the face of gross violations of human rights and its failure to make tangible efforts to stop the mayhem in my country" during the past 17 years of dictatorship, drought and famine. In contrast, the humanitarian commitment of donor nations and non-governmental organizations was sincerely appreciated. The downfall of the military junta in May "marked the beginning of a new era of peace, democracy and justice in Ethiopia". He expressed gratitude to the United States for its mediation role at the London peace conference observed by representatives from 16 Governments, the UN, the Organization of African Unity and the European Community.

GABON Pascaline Mferri Bongo, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Francophonie, noted that, despite the UN action programme for African recovery, "the economic and social situation of Africa has deteriorated dramatically". Structural adjustment programmes advocated by international financial institutions "entail social costs which have adverse effects for our people", she said. "The fact that these programmes are accompanied by social claims related to the liberalization of African political systems, considerably intensifies the difficulties which the Governments of African countries are facing."

GAMBIA Foreign Minister Alhaji Omar B. Sey said that "political development and economic welfare are inseparable from respect and protection of human rights and human dignity". As the headquarters of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, his country welcomed the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights and called for "a fight against poverty, hunger, disease, underdevelopment and racism; a fight for the welfare of the most vulnerable: women, children, old people, the sick and the disabled, the migrant and the refugee". Also essential to social and economic development was "respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States, rich or poor, big or small".


UN Photo 178324/M. Grant

GHANA Obed Asamoah, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, stated it was a "matter of regret and concern" that some UN Member States had "unilaterally decided to suspend" sanctions agreed upon in resolutions against apartheid in South Africa. "It has often been said that General Assembly resolutions have no binding effect and that they are largely recommendations to Member States. However, the credibility of the Organization requires that Member States endeavour to comply with conclusions reached in a democratic way." Ghana felt the Assembly had a "moral responsibility" to "remind the racist regime continuously of our determination to ensure the eradication of apartheid".

GUINEA Zainoul Abidine Sanoussi, Permanent Representative to the UN, emphasized that structural adjustment policies implemented in African countries "are not enjoying the support we expected from the donors. That this should be so is worsening the deprivation and the feeling of frustration experienced by our peoples, and so our States are becoming increasingly dependent on international institutions and bilateral partners." He saluted the efforts of the sub-region to resolve the crisis in Liberia and appealed to the international community for assistance in the Liberian refugee situation. "In Guinea, the sudden massive influx of almost 500,000 refugees has caused economic, environmental, housing, health and hygiene problems."

UN Photo 178758/J. Isaac

GUINEA-BISSAU Boubacar Touré, Permanent Representative to the UN, said that "the current threat to the environment is a phenomenon which must be curbed without delay". As a member of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel, Guinea-Bissau hoped that financial resources and technology transfer to the developing countries would be substantially increased. "If the environment is to be protected, we must speed up the development process in the poorest countries because, in our opinion, underdevelopment is a threat to the environment." He expressed agreement with "those who believe that the primary task is to harmonize respect for and preservation of the environment with the rational dynamics of development".

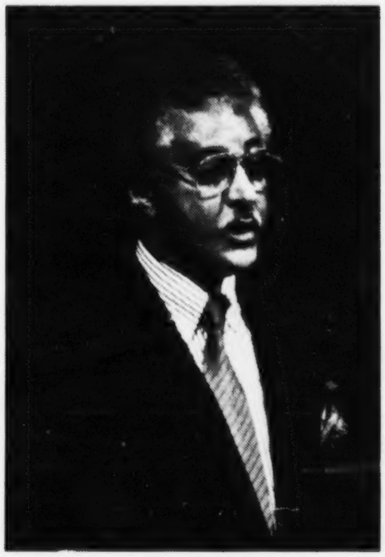
KENYA Wilson Ndolo Ayah, Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, called attention to the Horn of Africa, "an area that, for decades, has witnessed numerous political and social upheavals, resulting in massive suffering of the worst kind ever witnessed in the region". He referred "in particular to the plight of the many thousands of women and children who are dying from the lack of basic life-supporting necessities". He expressed support for the UN proposal that a mechanism be put in place "to deal more promptly and effectively with such crises", and endorsed the convening of a world conference on human settlements, "bearing in mind the fact that urbanization is becoming a major environmental problem in many developing countries".

UN Photo 178560/M. Grant

LESOTHO Major-General Elias Phisoana Ramaema, Chairman of the Military Council and Council of Ministers, informed the Assembly about preparations for the holding of democratic elections and the return to civilian rule in Lesotho during 1992. He looked forward to the "due support of and nurturing by the United Nations", which "by virtue of its prestige and neutrality, is uniquely placed to assist electoral processes in emerging democracies through activities ranging from observance of the elections to the provision of technical assistance". Moreover, he hoped "that under the new world order, the norm of popular participation and democracy will include an international dimension that will promote the need to build an international economic and political system that is also democratic".

LIBERIA Amos C. Sawyer, President of the Interim Government of National Unity, said: "Liberians are embarrassed by the fact that we have used up so much of the time, resources and energy of our West African subregion on a fratricidal conflict. We permitted ourselves to degenerate to a stage where we not only became the problem-child but posed a serious threat to the nations of that region." While some 800,000 people, approximately 30 per cent of Liberia's population, were refugees in neighbouring countries, "for the first time in our crisis, all sides seem convinced that we have now entered on the final stretch of the journey to a lasting settlement".

LIBYAN ARAB JAMAHIRIYA Ibrahim M. Bishari, Secretary for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, called for "an immediate start on serious efforts to enhance the role of the Organization" and for a reconsideration of the veto privilege, which had "caused untold harm to the peoples of the poor countries as it has been exploited in entrenching concepts that run counter to international legality". He also called for an enhanced role of the General Assembly, "so that the Security Council may become an organ that expresses the will of the peoples of the United Nations to preserve international peace and security and the principles of respect for sovereignty, and not a council for the security of certain States".



UN Photo 178634/M. Grant

MADAGASCAR Foreign Minister Cesaire Rabenoro said that, while better and fuller use of UN machinery had been made for the maintenance of international peace and security, many of the provisions for preventive diplomacy had "never been given optimal effect". Similarly, he asserted, "it is high time to provide the various peace-keeping operations with an official legal framework" which would "define their criteria and functions". He also proposed that the Economic and Social Council be renamed the "Council for Economic Security" and given a role of coordination and orientation. All Member States should give serious thought to a new charter for the UN, rather than periodically proclaiming a new world order which "continues to be a Utopian ideal".

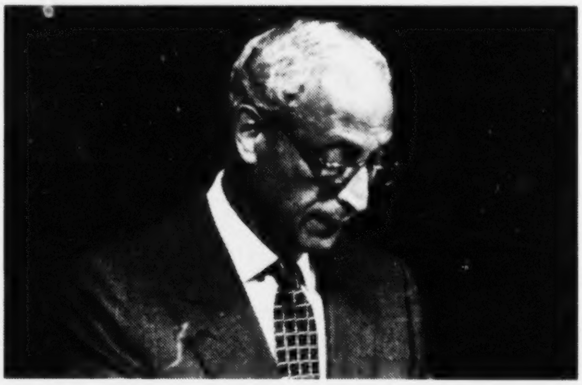
MALAWI Dalton S. Katopola, Minister of Transport and Communications, regretted that "the hopeful situation in the political sphere has not been matched by a similar trend in the economic field". He carefully noted "the assurances given by the developed countries that economic assistance to the developing countries will in no way diminish as a result of assistance given to the newly-democratic and market-economy States of Central and Eastern Europe". He termed "disconcerting" the Assembly's failure in 1990 to adopt the draft resolution on UN operational activities for development or the draft code of conduct for transnational corporations, saying "these developments have given rise to doubts about the viability of partnership in development".

MALI Foreign Minister Tiebile Drame, citing an uprising by young Tuaregs in the North of his country, said that despite an agreement signed in January, the confrontation continued. He appealed "to all States that can exert any influence on the Tuareg youth movements to help us solve this problem". He claimed that "defenceless villages have been the targets of regular attacks by armed groups" and added that "Western non-governmental organizations that were assisting us in our struggle against poverty have left northern Mali". He also asked for cooperation "in searching for and retrieving" funds sent abroad by the old regime. The "preservation of our democracy deserves the full support of the industrialized countries". They could help by restoring diverted capital, "which is in fact the fruit of the criminal plundering of the resources of the African people".

MAURITANIA Hasni Ould Didi, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, noted that the Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community, adopted by the Organization of African Unity, demonstrates the need for "internal resources" to help revive Africa, which "is in the grip of an unprecedented economic crisis, at a time when social and political changes are freeing the energies of its peoples and creating conditions that are more favourable for development. Unless our economies are revived, we may only expect serious human plights such as hunger, internal disruption and inter-State disputes." Moreover, "the increasing number of international forums where development problems are discussed has not improved the situation. Rather, it has brought more frustration and disappointment." The development crisis was "aggravated by such natural disasters as drought, desertification and locusts".

MAURITIUS Paul Raymond Berenger, Minister for External Affairs, commended the States which had recently acceded to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), but expressed concern over loopholes in the Treaty, "accentuated by evidence brought to light recently in Iraq". He appealed urgently "to set the ball in motion" for informal talks between States parties and States not parties to the Treaty before the NPT comes up for renewal in 1995, a proposal made jointly with Egypt to the Assembly. "Impassioned as we are with the objective of complete nuclear disarmament", he said, "Mauritius has also proposed a South-West Indian Ocean and Southern Africa Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty along the lines of the 1985 South Pacific Nuclear-Free-Zone Treaty." In addition to concerns relating to chemical and biological weapons, he supported a UN register of arms sales to keep track of stockpiling and production of conventional weapons.

MOROCCO Foreign Minister Abdellatif Filali linked the issue of Western Sahara "to the very destiny of our country" and recalled "the organic link which exists between that territory and the other parts of Morocco". Though he questioned why "Western Sahara remained on the agenda after the recovery by Morocco of its Saharan provinces", he looked to the future with hope and thanked the Secretary-General for efforts which resulted in the approval of Security Council resolution 690 (1991). "Morocco, which was behind the initiative of the Secretary-General, would like to state its total support for that framework plan."



UN Photo 178580/M. Grant

MOZAMBIQUE Foreign Minister Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi was convinced that the new "climate of understanding" will encourage "the exploration of new horizons in search for solutions to the remaining international issues to which adequate responses are still lacking". Delaying solutions "to the problems of hunger, ignorance, poverty and misery'' could only undermine the democratization process under way in the developing world. Negotiations towards ending the war in Mozambique were ''difficult and sluggish''. During seven rounds of talks, ''only a partial cease-fire agreement for the Beira and Limpopo corridors has been concluded''. Mozambique welcomed international observers to the legislative and presidential elections planned for 1992.

NAMIBIA Foreign Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab informed the Assembly of an agreement in principle by the Governments of Namibia and South Africa to set up a joint administration of Walvis Bay and the offshore islands. He called on all Member States ''to ensure that South Africa negotiates in good faith and without undue delay'' and emphasized that the Security Council ''should remain actively seized of the issue'' and ''support our efforts towards a final resolution''. He also applauded Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar for his commitment to the independence of Namibia. ''The good name of the Secretary-General will be inextricably linked to the birth of Namibia.''

UN Photo 178632/M. Grant

NIGERIA General Ibrahim Babangida, President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, appealing for consideration of debt forgiveness in Africa for structural adjustment programmes, environmental protection programmes and democratization processes, said: ''What Africa needs is a special financial package, a kind of Marshall Plan, which would demonstrate the sincerity of the developed world for the plight of Africa, right historical wrongs and set the world on the path of a new order that is just and equitable.'' As Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, he called for a ''proper sense of justice'' in the choice of the next Secretary-General. ''The deep commitment of African States to the United Nations has been demonstrated over the years.'' He also addressed ''in a very serious manner the composition of the Security Council. It is one major organ of the United Nations that needs to be democratized.'' He suggested that its membership be expanded in view of the expanded UN membership. ''The limitation of the permanent membership to the present five has become both anachronistic and unrepresentative.''

RWANDA François Ngarukiyintwali, Chairman of the delegation, drew attention to the ''gravity of the state of war'' that Rwanda had been living through since 1 October 1990. He asserted ''Uganda's share of responsibility'' in the hostilities, ''after having demonstrated that those attacking Rwanda ... were operating from Uganda, where they were being sheltered and were receiving all the necessary logistical support''. Declaring that ''Rwanda has always sought a definitive solution to the problem of its refugees'' who fled during the 1950s and that voluntary repatriation ''has been carried out on a continuing basis'', he said that the quest for a definitive solution of the refugee problem ''was not really what concerned those that had committed the aggression against Rwanda''.

UN Photo 178654/M. Grant

SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE President Miguel Trovoada stated that there are two key words to international economic relations and peace: ''Justice, because poverty unlike wealth, has a tolerance threshold. ... No one can predict the consequences of the revolt of a people unleashed when they have nothing to lose because they have nothing to defend.'' And solidarity, because ''the danger that can fall upon us from the sky, whether it be from the holes in the ozone layer or from the clouds of Chernobyl, makes no distinction between men or between countries''. The upcoming UN Conference on Environment and Development signified a unity of concerns. ''As long as our people have at their disposition no resources other than wood to cook their food and build their houses, as long as they have no access to less archaic technology—let us not deceive ourselves—trees will continue to be felled and fields to be burned.''

SENEGAL Foreign Minister Djibo Laity Ka said it was evident "that international cooperation for development is still not part of the renewal characterizing recent international relations". Initiatives such as the September 1990 Paris Conference devoted to the problems of least developed countries and individual efforts by some developed countries had been constructive. However, the answer may have rested in the transfer to the South of resources freed by disarmament. "These resources could be made available, because with the coming cessation of the arms race, considerable means will be released as part of what is called 'the peace dividend'." Also essential was "South-South cooperation". Economic solidarity was "a major step in our permanent quest for increased well-being and progress".

SEYCHELLES Danielle de St. Jorre, Minister for Planning and External Relations, asserted that the UN had proved that it is "not only useful but indispensable. Given the backing and the means for intervention by all nations, the United Nations has finally become the primary institution for management of world law and order." She asked: "Does this now mean that our appeals repeated year after year in this very Hall have been heeded?" Yet, while the changes were "comforting", it was also "obvious that a certain disparity remains between the poles of decision". "On the threshold of the emergence of a new order", she called for a determination of "what part each will play in the new distribution of responsibilities".

SIERRA LEONE Foreign Minister Ahmed R. Dumbaya placed the current Assembly session "on the crest of a tidal wave of significant developments. . . . Poised as we are on what promises to be a new era, we must admit that these are exciting, yet challenging, times: exciting, because they offer an opportunity for a change in direction, or even new beginnings, in the conduct of international relations; challenging, because of the possible consequences of a wrong choice." He called upon "collective volition and effort" to fashion "not a tenuous arrangement of uneven equality, but a compact of free nations, whose conduct will truly be sanctioned by the Charter and held accountable to the peoples of the world".

UN Photo 178811/M. Grant

SUDAN Foreign Minister Ali Ahmed Sahloul commended the special economic programme and disaster relief assistance to the Sudan. "In this respect, I can only hail the resolution adopted by the General Assembly in its last session with regard to the third phase of Operation Lifeline Sudan." The Government would continue its policy of implementing the humanitarian aid programme, "regardless of the non-compliance of the other party" and despite the fact that some "returnees still carry arms against the State of Sudan". He rejected allegations by some donor countries that relief was not reaching those who needed it and termed the "allegation that half of Sudan's population will starve" as "groundless". He also refuted charges of human rights violations, saying that "the application of Islamic shariah in the Sudan does not deprive non-Muslims of their rights".

SWAZILAND King Mswati III said his country was "watching the situations in Mozambique and South Africa with particular interest. Our country has always had a reputation for hospitality, and we have consistently followed a policy of non-aggression and the settlement of all disputes through discussion rather than confrontation." He supported the reform process under way in South Africa and offered encouragement for a successful conclusion to the negotiations, "with a blueprint for a new South Africa which will be acceptable to all". He was pleased with the "start of dialogue between rival factions in Mozambique" but called for "more effective support in resolving this crisis", noting that 75,000 refugees have fled Mozambique and now comprise almost 10 per cent of Swaziland's population.

TOGO Aboudou Toure Cheaka, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, said that political reforms in many African countries "have clearly disproved the argument that democracy is the preserve of the developed countries and only a luxury for the developing countries". The Togolese people "have now committed themselves to an overall process of democratization which calls for one and all to be involved in order to ensure the primacy of freedom and justice in the management of our affairs".

Recognizing the fact that lofty resolutions "will be doomed to failure" without the resources to implement them, he called "for the support of brotherly and friendly countries and of the international community" and urged "a policy of cooperation, assistance and solidarity" to help establish "our youthful democracy".

TUNISIA Foreign Minister Habib Ben Yahia said that world security was incomplete without strong regional cooperation, along the lines of the Arab Maghreb Union which was pursuing dialogue with the European Community, that "will contribute to the strengthening of peace, security and cooperation in the Mediterranean area as a whole", as well as "to the promotion of North-South cooperation". As the host of the upcoming summit of nine western Mediterranean countries, Tunisia sought "the adoption of a programme of cooperation and understanding in the Mediterranean basin on the basis of what we call 'co-development'", including measures regarding "indebtedness, emigration and environment", as a "means of narrowing the economic and technological gaps that exist between the Mediterranean countries".

UGANDA Paul Kawanga Ssemogerere, Second Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, welcomed "the initiative by the Government of Japan on the African economic summit proposed for 1993. It is our hope that an outcome of that summit will be serious commitments on the part of the international community for increased resource flows for the development of Africa." He took "strong exception to Rwanda's impotence in carrying out its obligations to its nationals in exile and its revelling instead in diversionary tactics and provocative attacks against Uganda". Uganda would not be a "scapegoat" for the problem "of about a milllion Rwandese living in forced exile", who were Rwanda's responsibility to repatriate.

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UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA Ahmed Hassan Diria, Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, stated that, while a number of preconditions for negotiations in the 1989 UN Declaration on Apartheid in South Africa had been met, there were still important omissions. He supported the establishment of a transitional government in South Africa that would oversee the election of a constituent assembly to formulate a democratic constitution under which a new South Africa would emerge on the basis of one-man, one-vote. "Until this objective has been realized, existing sanctions must be maintained." On a more global level, he welcomed the end to East-West antagonism, but expressed concern that the "newly-found cooperation also poses the spectre of unipolarity which could, in turn, endanger the democratization of international relations".

ZAMBIA Wilfrid Wonani, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, discussed the "twin problems of development and the environment. The current negotiations for international instruments and agreements to facilitate sustainable development are, indeed, a challenge of unparalleled importance." He underlined "the need to comply with the obligation to cooperate. The international community must not settle for the lowest common denominator—preserving the world's forests—without initiating changes in unsustainable patterns of production and consumption." The remaining phase of the preparatory process to the Conference on Environment and Development must involve "an ambitious, wide-ranging package that meets the challenges of sustainable development".

ZIMBABWE President Robert Gabriel Mugabe urged the Assembly to consider the proposals of collective security offered by the Stockholm Initiative, called attention to "the possibility of assigning national military contingents to serve under the authority of the Security Council", and asked that "rapid progress be made in instituting standing enforcement arrangements under the direct command of the United Nations". As evidence of Zimbabwe's commitment to disarmament, he cited its signing of the instruments of accession to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. "We consider the imperative of a concerted effort to make the world a safer habitat to be one that deserves the fullest attention."

Asia and the Pacific

Foreign Minister Qian Qichen of China

UN Photo 178241/E. Debebe

Step by step ... to a new order

Implications of the Gulf war, the evolving situation in the Middle East and the urgent need to narrow the ever-widening economic gap between developed and developing nations were major concerns of speakers from Asia and the Pacific.

The impact of a new world order on the international situation, the breathtaking pace of international developments over the past year and the growing importance of the UN in world affairs were focused on, as was the ongoing necessity to protect the environment.

Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister Saud Al-Faisal said the conclusion to be drawn from Iraq's invasion of Kuwait was that "no benefit will accrue from aggression and that the aggressor shall be made to bear the consequences of his actions".

The experience of the Gulf conflict had also made it imperative that the UN explore and put into effect the potential of preventive diplomacy, including expanded peace-keeping operations and a more proactive role on the Secretary-General's part.

Speakers emphasized that the Middle East must become a zone free of weapons of mass destruction. Calls were made for the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict based on UN decisions, especially Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

Israeli Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister David Levy declared that the sufferings of the "war-torn region" would be brought to an end "not as a result of any balance of terror, but of the benefits that peace will bring".

Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen spoke of the necessity to establish, step by step, a new international economic order. It was observed that the continued deterioration in the economic situation of the majority of developing countries remained the most serious threat to international peace and stability.

Delegates charged that industrialized countries had not matched with concrete steps the reform measures being taken in the third world, adding that the developing countries' efforts at fostering growth and development continued to be stonewalled by the denial of market access, dwindling resource flows, absence of foreign investment and a crushing debt.

Speakers agreed that a settlement of the Cambodian question would bring about peace and stability in South-East Asia and create a favourable environment of cooperation among, and the economic development of, all regional countries.

Support was voiced for the Secretary-General's continuing efforts on Afghanistan and Cyprus.

Cyprus proposed the establishment of an environment fund to safeguard the earth's future. Industrialized countries were perceived as being responsible for much of the environmental degradation in the world and were told to bear the burden of overcoming that problem.

Ways should be found, it was said, to enable developing countries to participate effectively in international environmental cooperation without sacrificing their development imperatives. Debate participants were critical of the dumping of dangerous wastes and toxic materials in developing nations by developed countries.

Calls were made to reappraise the structure, operating procedure and performance of the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Secretariat. Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad said there should be "a balanced constitutional relationship, including accountability", between those three UN organs in order that the UN might "truly be made the guardian of peace".

From the debate

AFGHANISTAN Prime Minister Fazl-Ul-Haq Khaliqyar called on all Afghan parties and Governments concerned to take steps towards implementing the Secretary-General's statement of 21 May and to begin negotiations to that end without any further delay. The statement, which contained the five main elements of a political settlement of the Afghan problem, represented the international consensus and was supported by Afghanistan and all interested countries. The remaining differences were not so "substantial as not to admit of a solution". There was "no reason to doubt the futility of attempts to gain military superiority". Afghans had "grown fed up with the destructive and fratricidal war". Nor was the world prepared any longer to provide money and weapons "for Afghans to kill Afghans".

BAHRAIN Foreign Minister Shaikh Mohamed Bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa proposed a new system of world security that would rest on two "cornerstones": the prohibition of the use of force or the threat of the use of force in international relations for any reason whatsoever; and a collective response by the international community. The system's application required that several conditions be met, he said, the most important of which were: all States would have a legal and moral obligation to participate in deterring aggression everywhere in the world and restoring peace; and the system would be neutral and objective, in the sense that measures would be taken against the aggressor State regardless of its identity "or whether it was strong or weak, rich or poor".

BANGLADESH Foreign Minister Mostafizur Rahman said that the right of self-determination of peoples under colonial rule or foreign occupation was an inherent right that could not long be denied. "Peace with justice demands that each country and its people determine their own destiny without outside interference; that they be free to choose their own governments and follow their own political, social and economic systems." The right to development was the most fundamental right of all. "Human rights become meaningless in the face of constraints of poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy." The Gulf war unambiguously demonstrated the unique convergence of action by the world community to reject attempts to usurp or compromise the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of a Member State.

BHUTAN Foreign Minister Dawa Tsering said: "The old, rusty machinery powered by the unjust system of economic relations lumbers on, but with a difference—the status quo is not maintained; rather, we see a steady drop in living standards for the vast majority of mankind. Overall, there has been a dramatic increase in poverty, disease and deprivation." For many developing countries, growth and development had been replaced by stagnation and decline. He called for a fourth special session on disarmament to address the issues of weapons of mass destruction and to forge ahead with concrete steps for the creation of a nuclear-free world. "A psychology of peace must replace the psychology of war. In so doing we opt for a saner and more secure world."

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BRUNEI DARUSSALAM Prince Mohamed Bolkiah, Minister for Foreign Affairs, said that as the Gulf war had shown, the end of the cold war would not mean the end of regional disputes which affected international peace. More positively, it had demonstrated the need to cooperate. "We are capable of working together towards United Nations goals when a common threat to our global community arises . . . even though bilateral and multilateral disputes may continue to disrupt regional peace." The welfare and security of all people were increasingly served by a strong UN in which regional organizations played vital supporting roles. The drug menace was presenting a lasting threat to the welfare of young people who constituted the productive sector of all nations.

CAMBODIA Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, President of the Supreme National Council, said the Cambodian people could finally see the end of the tunnel of their miseries and sufferings. After 12 years of war, destruction and suffering, Cambodia and its people were once again united. "A new era of peace is opening up before us, and, while it is true that the road leading us to a future of national reconciliation, national unity and general development in peace is still a long and painful one strewn with obstacles, it is also full of hope and the desire to see our homeland resume the place it deserves in the family of nations and achieve progress and development." The UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia would soon be in a position to help the Supreme National Council to make Cambodia an independent State.

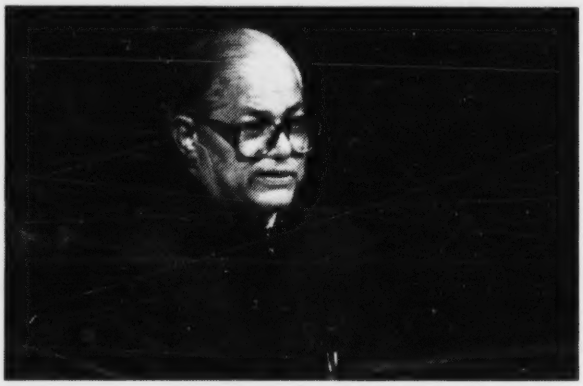
CHINA Foreign Minister Qian Qichen said: "No country should seek hegemony or try to manipulate international affairs, or pursue power politics on the basis of the law of the jungle. All States—large or small, strong or weak, rich or poor—should participate in the discussion and settlement of international affairs as equal members of the international community." He added: "No country—in particular, no big Power—should impose its own ideology, values or mode of development on other countries." The widening economic gap between the North and the South was the result of "the existing inequitable and unfair international economic order". Developed countries should refrain from attaching political strings to their aid to developing countries. A new international order should be established on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and should conform to UN Charter purposes and principles.

CYPRUS President George Vassiliou said that in Cyprus, for 17 years, "we have continued to suffer the results of the invasion by Turkish forces, which continue to occupy nearly 37 per cent of our territory, thus dividing our country in two and creating the present status quo". It was the continuous presence of Turkish troops that perpetuated the Cyprus problem. It was an anachronism for Turkish forces to remain and continue the forcible division of Cyprus. "We are steadfast in our objective of promoting a solution which will allow the two communities to live and work together in peace and security in a united federal Cyprus, where economic prosperity will be shared by all and human rights and fundamental freedoms will be universally applied."

DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA Yon Hyong Muk, Premier of the Administrative Council, proposed that an early political consultative conference for national reunification be convened. Representatives of the Governments and of political parties and organizations in the north and south of Korea would participate, with a view to achieving nationwide agreement on ways and means of reunification. Since the north and the south had both joined the UN, it was necessary to take measures to dissolve the "United Nations command" presence in South Korea, to have "United Nations forces" withdrawn and to replace the Korean armistice agreement with a peace agreement. North and South Korea should: suspend all joint military exercises with foreign forces and other large-scale military exercises; turn the demilitarized zone into a peace zone; and take security measures to prevent any accidental conflict that could lead to escalation.

FIJI Josevata Kamikamica, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance and Economic Planning, said the Gulf war was a severe indictment on those who had precipitated the crisis. Such conflicts had no place in this day and age. The crisis had demonstrated that the UN could respond speedily and effectively to any international conflict, but the process by which that responsibility was exercised must be worked out very carefully. He hoped that the chemical destruction facility at Johnston Atoll would not be used again by the United States, on completion of the destruction of weapons being transferred from Europe. Subsidies paid by developed countries to their farmers seriously undermined the ability of developing countries to gain more lucrative and stable markets.

INDIA Madhavsinh Solanki, Minister for External Affairs, said the overall debt situation for developing countries had assumed alarming proportions and posed a serious threat to their economic viability. A solution to their debt problem would need a comprehensive and integrated strategy encompassing all categories of affected countries and all forms of debt. Any outside intervention in a Member country on humanitarian grounds constituted an abridgement of national sovereignty and was, therefore,



UN Photo 178266/J. Isaac

fraught with serious implications. A disturbing trend in the economic field was that attempts were being made to "factor into the calculus of international and bilateral economic cooperation non-economic considerations" such as good governance, observance of human rights, environment and military expenditure.

INDONESIA Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said there was a widespread feeling that there should be closer coordination and synchronization of actions between the Security Council and the General Assembly on issues affecting the fundamental interests of the entire international community. The positive transformations in the political domain had yet to find their corresponding reflection in the economic sphere, where "unrelieved disparities and unacceptable injustices" continued to aggravate North-South relations. The sustained economic progress of the North "is not possible without the economic growth of the South, for the fate and fortunes of both are now inextricably intertwined". The new world order must be firmly rooted in the fundamental principles of the UN Charter and organized on the precepts of universality and sovereign equality, encompassing all nations—large and small, strong and weak, alike.

IRAN Foreign Minister Ali-Akbar Velayati, referring to "the current movement towards the establishment of a new order in international relations", said: "Should the necessity for a new order be manipulated so as to consolidate the position of a single Power as the dominant pole, it is a foregone conclusion that such an outcome would fail to usher in an atmosphere of confidence, let alone ensure effective international cooperation." He objected to the presence of foreign forces in the Gulf region, saying that the regional countries were fully capable of ensuring the security of "this vital waterway through cooperation among themselves". The success of any arrangement for regional security and cooperation "rests primarily on the common values and interests of the regional countries concerned".

IRAQ Foreign Minister Ahmad Hussein charged that the United States Administration "is responsible above all others for the suffering of the Iraqi people". Iraq had been subjected, "in the name of international legitimacy and under the pretext of upholding it, to a deliberate full-scale destruction of all aspects of life". Iraqis were facing "the spectre of the worst kind of starvation and disease as a result of the unjust economic blockade, whose first victims are children, women, the elderly and other innocent civilians". More than 18 million Iraqis "are being deprived of their food and medicine and, consequently, exposed to famine and deadly epidemics". Charter provisions should be implemented in a manner that would "not allow one single State or small group of States to control the destiny of any other State on the premise that might is right and by exerting all sorts of pressure to influence" the Organization's decisions.

ISRAEL David Levy, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, appealed to leaders of the Arab States to "stop the insane arms race in weapons of extermination. Abandon all destructive impulses. Put an end to blind hatred. Do not waste your resources. Do not give up the opportunity for progress and well-being for your own countries for the illusory dream of destroying Israel. Israel draws its strength from its historic and moral right to a safe existence in its own country. Set out with us on the path of peace. Think of your children, as we think of ours. For they were born not for war, to be killed, but to live." The root causes of the bitter Israeli-Arab conflict lay in the refusal of Arab States, excluding Egypt, to recognize the existence of Israel and to accept its independence and sovereignty.

JAPAN Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama said that armed conflict caused tremendous human suffering and took vast amounts of human and material resources to resolve. Conflict prevention was therefore a matter of special urgency and deserved the highest priority. If the UN was to be able to engage effectively in preventive diplomacy, the Secretary-General, the Security Council and the General Assembly must each function effectively. He proposed the establishment of a conflict-prevention system based on these measures: strengthening the UN's ability continuously to monitor and analyse information relating to possible conflicts; dispatch of on-site fact-finding missions; issuing early warnings as the situation required; and undertaking good offices and mediation efforts under the Secretary-General's authority.

UN Photo 178639/M. Grant

JORDAN Foreign Minister Abdullah Nsour called for speedy action to lift the economic blockade against Iraqis "to enable them to overcome the sorrowful inhuman conditions they are suffering". Jordan was deeply distressed by the harsh living conditions Iraqis were enduring as a consequence of the Gulf War, and by the possibility of a real famine befalling them if the situation continued, as well as by the death of large numbers of children because of shortages of medicines and food and outbreaks of epidemics. Jordan reiterated its keen interest in preserving the unity of Iraq and its sovereignty over its own territory—an important element in the maintenance of stability in the region as a whole. Israel should end its illegal settlement activities in the occupied territories.

KUWAIT Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, the Amir, said: "The admirable performance by the United Nations will perhaps serve as a sharp reminder to any party indulging delusions about brutalizing others in pursuit of false ambitions or brazen fantasies that the world Organization stands ready as a strong and effective deterrent." Despite the extensive damage inflicted by the Iraqi invasion on Kuwait's physical infrastructure and the "heinous crimes perpetrated against man and life in all its forms—as demonstrated by setting fire to 732 oil wells—the reconstruction of Kuwait is now well under way". Urgent solutions to the questions of Palestine and Lebanon on the basis of relevant Security Council resolutions would bring about peace and security throughout the Middle East.

LAOS Phoune Sipaseuth, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said that in South-East Asia, there had been a general easing of tension. The countries in the region were increasing their contacts and further expanding their relations of cooperation in the economic, trade, cultural, technical and scientific areas. A new era of *détente* and cooperation had begun and was developing to the great benefit and in the interests of the peoples of the entire region. He hoped that recent decisions of the Cambodian parties would provide a further impetus to the effort at achieving reconciliation among Cambodians and making Cambodia an independent, sovereign, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned country having good relations with all countries, in particular its close neighbours.

LEBANON President Elias Hraoui said that Israel, which had continued to flout the UN resolution on Lebanon for 13 years and had persisted in occupying southern Lebanon, should withdraw fully and unconditionally from his country. The UN had not implemented its resolution on Lebanon. Israel had refused to give peace efforts the chance they deserved, "despite courageous Arab openness". Lebanon wanted its rights. "Our people in the South suffer under the yoke of Israeli occupation and are continuously exposed to aggression, which threatens their lives, their property and their fundamental human rights." Lebanon "has broken out of the vicious circle of war that was imposed upon it, has begun to regain confidence in itself and to re-emerge on the world scene and play a unique role".

MALAYSIA Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad said: "If democracy is to be the only acceptable system of government within States, should there not also be democracy among the States of the world? In the United Nations we are equal, but 5 are more equal than the rest of the 166. Seven countries on their own lay down the laws which affect adversely the economies of others. A few nations on their own have taken it upon themselves to determine the new world order." Powerful trade blocs "demand voluntary restraints and impose laws and rules extraterritorially. Clearly, the States of the world are not equal; not in the United Nations, not anywhere. If democracy is such an equitable concept, why must we accept inequality between nations?" There was simply no place for an international order based on hegemony and domination.

UN Photo 178220/M. Grant

MALDIVES Foreign Minister Fathulla Jameel said: "A new world order—if there is going to be one—should be fair and just, based on the very principles we have striven to put into effect in the past. It should be an order of peace and peaceful coexistence, tolerance and sensible compromise. It would be a pity if we were to allow fads of political hegemony, extreme protectionism, hard-core nationalism, and/or racism to grow again under our feet as we sit enjoying the comfort of the breeze blowing today; indeed, this could have dire consequences''. The new order should be ''democratically formulated and jointly implemented; an order that would address the concerns of the peoples in the North and South, East and West, without discrimination or privilege''.

MARSHALL ISLANDS President Amata Kabua said the consequences of global warming could be totally catastrophic for the Marshall Islands, as well as for other countries similarly situated. Long-term solutions to the many issues facing the world would require a new and comprehensive vision of a global society, supported by a new system of values requiring ''subordination of national impulses, needs and interests to the imperative claims of a unified, peaceful and prosperous world''. The Organization had demonstrated that it had both the potential and the ability to resolve international disputes and maintain world peace. It was the only institution that could realistically deal with economic and social advancement and development issues on a global scale.

UN Photo 178205/J. Isaac

MICRONESIA (Federated States of) President Bailey Olter called attention to the key role of the oceans in the global environment. Activities that would cause the seas to rise should be controlled. Small island States were in the front line of countries facing dire consequences of climate change brought on by man-induced global warming. As Chairman of the South Pacific Forum, he said that Forum members awaited a cessation of French nuclear testing in their region. They were determined ''to persevere with and, wherever possible, expand our efforts to reach the consciences of those who seem willing to visit the potentially devastating consequences of nuclear testing on faraway island people but are unwilling to carry out such activities within their own homelands''. The region could not be considered by the larger nations ''as a convenient empty space for the disposal of toxic and hazardous waste, chemicals and radioactive materials''.

MONGOLIA Foreign Minister Tserenpiliin Gombosuren said that for Mongolia, the UN was no longer an arena of ideological rivalry and confrontation. The UN was ''a genuine centre for harmonizing and coordinating the actions of nations in the attainment of common goals''. The major lesson to be learned from the Gulf crisis was that ''the strong cannot defy with impunity the will of the weak and that the United Nations will no longer tolerate similar actions which flagrantly violate its Charter''. The outcome of the crisis, ''logical by all ethic and moral norms of inter-State relations, significantly reinforced the faith of nations in the feasibility of bringing into being a just world order''.

MYANMAR Foreign Minister Ohn Gyaw said that to the fullest extent permitted by Myanmar's national circumstances—''not least among which is the continued existence of armed insurrection in remote parts of the country and the destructive activities of underground elements in urban and rural areas''—his country was doing its utmost to promote human rights. Myanmar had cooperated with the UN Commission on Human Rights, providing comprehensive and factual replies to its inquiries and communications. It had also welcomed the visit of an independent expert. Myanmar intended to continue such cooperation on the basis of objectivity, fair play, good faith and goodwill.

NEPAL Ram Hari Joshi, Minister of Education, Culture and Tourism, said that the unanimity in the Security Council in the face of the Persian Gulf crisis was a matter of extraordinary consequence for the future. It marked the beginning of a new phase in the application of Council authority in the maintenance of international peace and security. While Nepal welcomed the convergence of views among the five permanent members of the Council on some regional issues, it was critically important to ensure that such agreement was legitimized by wider support from the international community. Continued difficulties in the international economic situation had hit the least developed countries the hardest. They needed financial assistance and debt relief, combined with comprehensive plans for structural change.

OMAN Sayyid Haytham bin Tariq bin Taimour Al-Said, Under-Secretary for Political Affairs, said that the Kuwait crisis was the greatest test of the present world order after the cold war. ''With God's blessing, the new order passed the test and a great triumph for the United Nations was achieved." The international community had decisively demonstrated that international relations must be governed by international law and that the use of force in settling disputes between States ran counter to international legitimacy. The environment in the Gulf was suffering as a result of hundreds of raging oil-well fires in Kuwait. Although commendable efforts were being made to contain the damage left by oil slicks, further international efforts were still needed.

PAKISTAN Muhammad Siddique Khan Kanju, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, said Indian-occupied Jammu and Kashmir "remains in the throes of a profound human tragedy". The indigenous, spontaneous and widespread uprising continued to gather momentum, reflecting the resolve of the people of Kashmir to secure their inalienable right to self-determination. The essential element of any settlement in Afghanistan must necessarily remain the transfer of power from the present dispensation in Kabul to a broad-based government representing the will and aspirations of the Afghan people. It would be tragic if the end of the cold war witnessed the birth of another era of international tensions on account of the "hegemonic ambitions of major regional Powers. We should work for a new world order based on equity, justice and progress reflecting the collective aspirations of mankind."

PAPUA NEW GUINEA Utula Samana, Minister for Education, said that international economic and political structures, "as they exist today, promote inequality and imbalances". The UN could not and must not be used "as a legitimizing tool for powerful States utilizing their military arsenals to achieve their narrow political ends". His country was concerned that France continued to carry out its nuclear-testing activities in the South Pacific region. It strongly urged France to end "this act of terrorism against the ecosystem and humanity". Papua New Guinea was encouraged by measures being taken in New Caledonia by France to promote equitable political, economic and social development. The global warming and climatic changes that were causing rising sea-levels were a direct threat to the very survival of small island States.

PHILIPPINES Raul Manglapus, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, said that many factors had spelled the end of the cold war. "But we would be mocking history if we did not recognize that the final verdict that tumbled the walls was rendered by a world of peoples—peoples wishing to end the shackling of their minds, their souls, their political institutions and their economies. The cooling winds of liberalization blew themselves into a gale of democracy which even now is still huffing and puffing at the residual ramparts of involuntary servitude." If the UN intended to design a global strategy for peace that would "not only dwell on the surface of the issue—or even just below it—but will strike at its roots, it must return to its own roots . . . and resensitize itself to its commitment to the rights of human beings".

QATAR Foreign Minister Mubarak Bin Ali Al-Khater said it was highly desirable that the Security Council should persevere along the lines of its action in response to the Gulf war and resolve with the same positive approach the remaining international problems, foremost among which was that of Palestine and the Arab-Israeli conflict, which had continued for far too long and which could be settled fairly and justly through the application of UN Charter principles and relevant resolutions. The Council should also implement its resolution on Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. All nations must participate on an equal footing in the formulation of a new world order, so that it would be a truly universal, just and fair order.

UN Photo 178552/M. Grant

REPUBLIC OF KOREA President Roh Tae Woo said that the separate membership of the two Koreas in the UN was an important interim step on the road to national unification. "In this hall of peace, the two Koreas will open a new avenue of dialogue and cooperation that will lead to our national unity." A new chapter of reconciliation and cooperation would open on the Korean Peninsula. The day of peace and unification was coming to Korea, "in spite of territorial division and the ever-present military threat". He proposed that the two Governments conclude a peace agreement, renouncing the use of force against each other and normalize bilateral relations in all areas. They should also seek to bring about realistic arms reductions, beginning with measures designed to build mutual confidence, and should "open a new era of free exchange of products, information and people".

SAUDI ARABIA Prince Saud Al-Faisal, Minister for Foreign Affairs, hoped that the same principles applied in the Gulf crisis would be applied to the Palestinian question, so that international legality might be firmly established and the principles of justice, freedom and the right of peoples to self-determination strongly upheld. The building of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories seriously violated international law and UN resolutions, and was a major obstacle to peace. He called for full and speedy implementation of Security Council resolutions on the situation between Iraq and Kuwait. Full compliance by Iraq and its cooperation regarding the humanitarian needs would ensure that such needs would be taken care of and, at the same time, contribute to fostering the principle of peace and stability in the region.

SINGAPORE Foreign Minister Wong Kan Seng believed that a system of security must be built on principles of sovereignty and collective security, not on the military might of individual Powers, although the cold war had ended with some countries in a position of unparalleled political and economic influence. Collective security arrangements by the UN were, according to sceptics, "neither collective nor secure if arranged and dominated by the big Powers, as they will shape the agenda and frame the targets". The collective action taken by the UN to reverse the occupation of Kuwait was a unique case because the violation of basic principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity was so flagrant. "The peace of rich nations will not last long when the crisis of the global underclass assumes overwhelming proportions."

UN Photo 178323/M. Grant

SOLOMON ISLANDS Peter Kenilorea, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade Relations, called on France to end its nuclear-testing programme in the Pacific. France should continue discussions with all parties involved in New Caledonia in preparation for an act of self-determination consistent with UN principles and practices, in which all options, including independence, would be open, and which would safeguard the rights of the indigenous Kanak and other New Caledonians. It was the industrialized countries, he said, that were "mainly responsible for the destruction of the environment".

SRI LANKA Stanley Kalpagé, Permanent Representative to the UN, said that global poverty, which was a common threat to the stability of national and international structures, was a major source of environmental degradation. The persistence of appalling economic disparities between and within nations had no place in a new vision of the future world. "Our one world cannot long endure part privileged, part deprived." The favourable developments in the international political scene enhancing peace, security and cooperation should have a positive impact on the Indian Ocean region. The illicit trade in conventional arms had provided arms to terrorists, drug traffickers and other anti-social groups, resulting in instability, suffering and destruction at all levels.

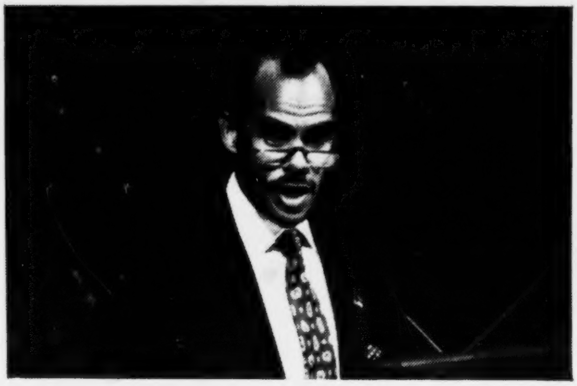
SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC Foreign Minister Farouk Al-Shara said Israel was sparing no effort in closing every door that might lead to peace. Its rulers clung to a futile ideology based on expansion and the uprooting of Arabs; they thus sowed the seeds of hatred and bloodshed in the region. Syria was determined to engage in the battle for peace until the end. However, there would be no compromise on its lands and rights. People's right to self-determination "is a driving force that cannot be curbed", foreign occupation was bound to fail and had to be brought to an end, and the principles of international law and international legality could not be ignored or dealt with through the adoption of double standards. Only on the basis of those firm principles could world peace be established. Peace and the usurpation of the land of other peoples could not coexist.

THAILAND Foreign Minister Arsa Sarasin said Thailand was pleased to see the *rapprochement* between China and Viet Nam which had contributed significantly to the building of a peaceful environment in

South-East Asia. Thailand looked forward to contributing to Cambodia's reconstruction. The breakthrough in the Cambodian problem had given rise to South-East Asians' hopes and aspirations. For the first time since the Second World War, peace had come to the region. For once, a new regional order would be charted by South-East Asians—an order of peace, stability and prosperity if the countries concerned had learned the lessons of the past. Thailand was playing an active role in the war on drugs, through cooperation with its neighbouring countries, and subregional strategies to control drug abuse.

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES Foreign Minister Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi said the fundamental principles for making peace in the Middle East were Israeli withdrawal from all occupied territories and the right of Palestinians to self-determination, including the establishment of their own independent State "on their national soil". The dire effects of Iraqi aggression against Kuwait were still palpable. Crimes against humanity had been committed. The Iraqi regime was fully responsible for the destruction of wealth and the wastage of resources resulting from its aggression. The Israeli "military arsenal, with its massive stockpiles of nuclear and chemical weapons", posed "a real threat to stability and the prospects of making peace". He called for speedy action to eliminate weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East.

VANUATU Robert van Lierop, Permanent Representative to the UN, said: "As important a step as the liberation of Kuwait was, it will lose its moral and legal significance unless the international community consistently applies the same principles everywhere. We must always judge the act and not the actor. Should we fail to do so, we can rightfully be accused of having a double standard." Principles which were "selectively applied are not really principles but are instead mere expedients". France's positive measures in New Caledonia were much appreciated. However, what would be even more appreciated would be the moment that that Territory gained its independence.



UN Photo 178621/M. Grant

VIET NAM Deputy Foreign Minister Tran Quang Co said the world needed a more just and saner new international order. "A definitive end must be put to all forms of hegemony, of military, political or economic intervention or coercion by large countries against smaller ones, by the minority at the expense of the majority. Nations need to cooperate freely on an equal footing and to mutual advantage for the common cause of peace and development." Viet Nam was ready to join efforts with parties concerned to reach a comprehensive, fair and reasonable political solution to the Cambodian question, thereby allowing Cambodia to become a peaceful, independent and neutral country. South-East Asian countries now had a better opportunity than ever to build together a region of peace, stability, cooperation and development.

WESTERN SAMOA Prime Minister Tofilau Eti Alesana said the United States, France and the United Kingdom should become parties to the protocols of the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty, which made an important contribution in addressing nuclear non-proliferation and which expressed "our strong opposition to nuclear weapons and their testing in the region". While no chemical weapons were produced in the South Pacific, "we have been forced to grapple with the issue of the disposal of toxic agents from such weapons in our region". The past year had seen a great expansion of the UN role and an enhancement of its stature.

YEMEN Foreign Minister Abdulkarim Al-Eryany called for strong measures to eliminate Israel's nuclear armaments. The Security Council should not be prevented from exercising its power under the Charter in acting against Israel, "whose record is replete with unpunished and unhindered violations of the Charter and with constant and blatant rejection" of UN resolutions. Israel's non-compliance with UN resolutions that declared the annexation of Al-Quds null and void should be ended urgently, and Israel should be pressured to desist from its "suppressive and oppressive measures". The economic blockade against Iraq should be lifted for humanitarian reasons. The Iraqi people should be enabled to reconstruct their country, repair the damage caused by the war, and to live normally.

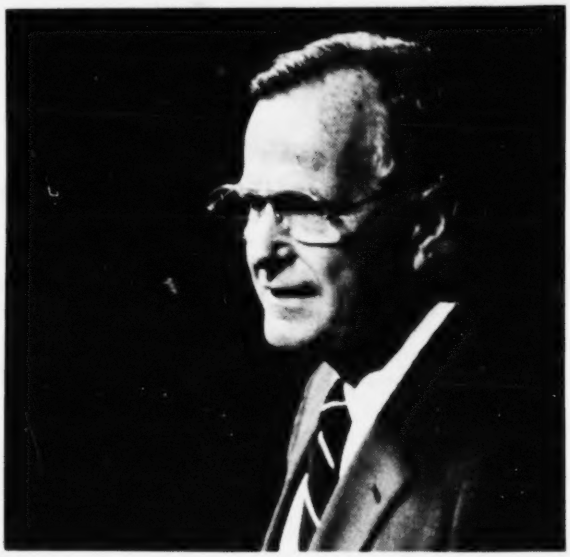
Europe: East and West

A crossroads in history

Towards a 'belt of trust, cooperation and security'

UN Photo 178171/J. Isaac

Foreign Minister Pankin


UN Photo 178096/M. Grant

President Bush

Collapse of what were called outdated and undemocratic power structures, the end of the cold war and other sweeping changes in Europe, including political instability and ethnic conflicts in some countries—brightened by the prospect of a common, positive future—were themes of the general debate by representatives of both Western and Eastern European nations.

Western nations spoke out forcefully about the apparent end to one of the world's major political systems. Communism had "held history captive for years", President George Bush of the United States told the General Assembly. As it dissolved, "suspended hatreds" had sprung to life. People who for years had been "denied their pasts", began "searching for their own identities".

"We have just experienced a purifying storm—the defeat of a criminal coup", said Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin. Those days proved finally that the "quest for freedom" had become the "main thrust in our own development". Europe—once the "epicentre of confrontation"—was turning into a "laboratory for new forms of interaction". A new transcontinental community was coming into being—"a 'belt' of trust, cooperation and security".

Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland of Norway viewed the recent profound changes in the USSR "among the four or five most decisive events of this century", but stability and economic growth there were essential "for the people of the Soviet Union, for Europe and for the world".

Foreign Minister Victor Vulkov of Bulgaria observed that "ideological rivalry and mutual suspicion" had given way to "understanding and confidence". A growing number of free and sovereign States were "pooling together their efforts, seeking solutions to urgent global issues of peace, security, disarmament, economic development, ecology, health care and the elimination of famine, terrorism and drug trafficking''.

Summing up his impressions of the recent dramatic transformations in Europe, Douglas Hurd, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom, said: ''We are now watching the collapse of the principle of empire.'' By that he meant the principle that ''people can be forced to work together under a central rule in which they do not themselves participate and which has no respect for their rights''.

Foreign Minister Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson of Iceland said that post-war reconstruction had been successful because of ''that unique endeavour in the history of international relations, the Marshall Plan''. The countries of Central and Eastern Europe now needed a ''new Marshall Plan''.

Economic assistance would help ''establish the material conditions for European unity'' so that new boundaries would not ''divide Europe into haves and have-nots'', said Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Vice-Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Germany. No one in the West would be ''permanently well off'' if those in the East were ''permanently badly off''. Europe ''stands at a crossroads in its history''.

Tragic events in Yugoslavia were a matter of serious concern. The main lesson of that ''virulent and destructive conflict'', stated Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase, was that the ''use of force leads nowhere but to further complication of existing problems''.

Representatives of the newly-admitted Member States—Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania—stressed their willingness to actively participate in the construction of the future ''all-European house''. Anatolijs Gorbunovs, Chairman of the Supreme Council of Latvia, said that his country ''by God Himself has been granted the role of a gateway linking the East and the West''.

Moving towards an age of greater cooperation and unity, Europe must give an example of how to transcend nationalistic feelings, and be a major force contributing to the solution of various global problems—a view shared by many who addressed the Assembly. It was widely felt that European countries should also set standards for the respect of human rights.

Eastern Europe: From the debate

ALBANIA Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani said his country was currently living through an ''important period of transition to democracy''. Its aim was ''not merely the restructuring or renovation of the former system but the setting up of a new and truly democratic system''. Albania continued to ''bring its foreign policy into line with the democratic changes'' being pursued in the domestic field, a distinct feature of which was its ''abandonment of the past legacy and ideological burden'' that had isolated Albania from the rest of the world. The ''long drawn-out crisis'' in Yugoslavia was a source of great concern for the international community, especially Europe, and for Albania, as half its population lived in Yugoslavia. The situation there constituted the ''most dangerous'' threat to stability in the Balkans and Europe since the Second World War.

BELARUS (formerly Byelorussian SSR) Foreign Minister Pyotr K. Kravchanka favoured the establishment of a ''nuclear-free belt—from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea, including Belarus, the three Baltic States and Ukraine''. The achievement of that priority was ''dictated by the fundamental interests of our people, especially in the post-Chernobyl era''. Problems from that disaster had become a main priority of his Republic's foreign policy. Chernobyl had become a catalyst ''in our movement towards sovereignty'', because the people of Belarus felt that they ''had been left alone to face our national misfortune in a country that was being torn by many contradictions''. Unequal levels of economic development were the basic destabilizing factor in Europe, as well as at the global level, and contained the ''seeds of further cataclysms''.

BULGARIA Victor Vulkov, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said that democratic changes at home had created favourable conditions for laying the foundations of Bulgaria's new foreign policy, characterized by an ''ever-closer commitment to the established European and world democratic values and structures''. The successful transition of Eastern Europe to a free market economy and its integration into the world economic, trade and financial systems would be ''one of the main challenges of the 1990s'', and its successful implementation would largely determine whether there would be economic and political stability in the world. The Balkan region was again ''charged with tremendous tension'', because of the situation in Yugoslavia. The inter-ethnic armed conflicts there threatened to spread to ''borderline areas'', or even spill over into the territories of neighbouring States.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA Jiri Dienstbier, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said that the UN must be ''more than the sum of its members''. Particular national interests should not be in conflict ''with our common interest'', but rather subjected to ''higher international needs''. The very existence of a strong international organ could in many cases influence nations' behaviour, making it ''unnecessary to turn to force, which truly is the last resort''. He wanted the Organization to ''play a more important role as an intermediary in conflicts'', such as in Yugoslavia and the Middle East, and to move ''from propaganda duels to realistic negotiations, from mechanical vote-counting to efforts to reach a consensus''. Such efforts would improve conditions for using preventive diplomacy and perhaps even for creating an arbitration court to solve controversies.

UN Photo 178054/M. Grant

ESTONIA Arnold Ruutel, Chairman of the Supreme Council, said he was pleased to represent a State that had once again become independent and which was once a ''full-fledged member of the League of Nations''. Having restored ''ties to the international community'', his country would ''once again help to build collective security in the world''. Ernst Jaakson, Permanent Representative to the UN, said that the democratization process in the republics of the USSR, along with the restoration of independence to the Baltic States, had ''markedly reduced tensions in Europe''. No longer was there a ''trip-wire of confrontation separating East and West''. His country did not consider itself neutral since it no longer saw a ''Europe divided into hostile alliances'', and wished to cooperate with its neighbours on questions of defence and strategic doctrine.

HUNGARY Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said a solution to the conflict of Yugoslavia should be achieved by political means and democratically. Then, a united and consolidated Europe would ''emerge as a stabilizing force for the adjoining regions and beyond''. The end of the cold war had made it possible for the great Powers to cooperate in seeking political solutions to the destabilizing regional conflicts. The present UN structure was still a reflection of the world as it had developed after the Second World War. The UN ''must meet new challenges and must face new tasks, which calls for a reform of the world Organization and for its adaptation to the changing circumstances''.

LATVIA Anatolijs Gorbunovs, Chairman of the Supreme Council, said that following independence on 6 September, his country needed moral, financial and economic support from the world community, so that it could set up infrastructures directed towards a free market economy. The duties and obligations that come with UN membership would be fulfilled by his country ''with respect to eternal moral and ethnic principles''. It was of symbolic importance to recall that Latvia had become a member of the League of Nations 70 years ago, in September 1921. Ojars Kalnins, Permanent Representative to the UN, believed that his country was ''destined to serve as a natural bridge between Eastern and Western Europe''. Having once served as a ''battlefield for opposing foreign armies'', it could become a ''crossroads for commercial exchange and economic cooperation''.

LITHUANIA Vytautas Landsbergis, President of the Supreme Council, said that, ''like the mythical Phoenix'', his country was ''not only reborn literally out of the ashes and destruction of the Second World War'', but was also reborn from the ''suffering and struggles of its people, from their toil and faith''. His people had ''repudiated violence''. They had accumulated a ''yet unknown political experience'' they could share, and their message was: ''If one person can lead a moral life, why cannot moral politics govern the world? If one can speak truth, why cannot open truth govern politics?'' Anicetas Simutis, Permanent Representative to the UN, expressed concern about the spread of nuclear armaments. Lithuania had no such armaments and refused to acquire them in the future.

POLAND Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said that during the past year democracy had been consolidated in Central and Eastern Europe. The failure of the *coup d'état* in the Soviet Union proved that "democratic transformations are irreversible".

UN Photo 178374/J. Isaac

However, the "now defunct East-West confrontation must not be superseded by a feud" originating in tensions "bred by underdevelopment". The fragmentation of the world economy into "rival blocs" was of "no advantage to anybody". The success of the new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe in establishing free-market economies would "lead to expanding market opportunities for the products of the South". On the other hand, economic development was "inconceivable without its being firmly predicated on sound social development where the individual and his interests are overriding goals".

ROMANIA Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase said his country was "determined to do all in its power to remain a stable 'bridge of hope' in Eastern Europe". Assistance from international financial institutions and several developed countries had had a "significant impact", but much more was needed for a "modernized and restructured economy to take off". Romania was a net creditor and payment of foreign debts due it, in particular by Iraq, was badly needed. He counted on the support of the UN in recovering those outstanding loans. Romania's efforts to reinstate a market economy and "stimulate the free initiative drive of individuals would find a most happy catalyst" in the European Economic Community's decision to include Romania as an associate partner.

UKRAINE Leonid Kravchuk, President of the Verkhovna Rada, said that as the UN approached its fiftieth anniversary, Ukraine would welcome efforts to adapt it to new international realities that might include setting up a "council of environmental safety" to replace some existing bodies. It was also "high time" to delete from the Charter such "anachronisms" as a reference to "enemy States". Certain nuclear-weapons systems deployed in Ukranian territory were only temporarily stationed there. Eliminating them was "just a matter of time". Ukraine would not participate in military blocs in the future and would comply with the three non-nuclear principles—"not to accept, produce or acquire nuclear weapons". It would also preserve its status as a chemical-weapons-free State.

USSR Foreign Minister Boris D. Pankin said the defeat of a coup aimed at restoring totalitarian rule had led to a "revolution that changed the face of the nation, sweeping away the last remaining pillars of a bankrupt regime". It was also a "world-wide victory for the forces of good. Together we managed to avert the threat of a return to the cold war", he said. Only a society that gave full protection to individual freedoms and rights could be "prosperous and dynamic". Breakthroughs in "two central areas of disarmament"—conventional arms in Europe and strategic nuclear arms—proved that relations between the USSR and the United States, between East and West, were "no longer relations between adversaries". Such drastic cuts were "possible only between partners" who had recognized that they had "shared, rather than conflicting, security interests". The philosophy of new international solidarity signified a "de-ideologization" of the UN. The world community should leave behind the "legacy of the ice age—like the obnoxious resolution equating Zionism with racism".

YUGOSLAVIA Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar believed that after all that had happened in his country, it was necessary to find a formula that would "both recognize legitimate national aspirations and contemporary needs for integration on a new basis". The Yugoslav crisis, a "test for the new European and world architecture", could "best mirror the interdependence" of national, regional, continental and global stability. Even after the bipolar world had ceased to exist, the "goals and potentials of the policy of non-alignment" were not exhausted. Quite the opposite, that policy had "new motivation". The world of economic development and prosperity was "incompatible with the poverty and stagnation of the developing world". It was "illusory to expect an even and perfectly balanced global development, but equally unrealistic to project a world development if some lacked opportunities for expansion".

Western Europe and Other States:

From the debate

AUSTRALIA Gareth Evans, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, said that in order to establish the conditions for a global peace, the UN must intensify its work on disarmament and arms control. The Non-Proliferation Treaty and the safeguards system of the International Atomic Energy Agency were "cornerstones of arms control". The Gulf war underlined the crucial importance of a successful result to the negotiations on a chemical weapons convention which had entered a critical final stage. Australia would also support a new basic structure for the UN Secretariat, which would permit it to fulfil its roles in the development of policy options.

AUSTRIA Alois Mock, Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs, said that violations of human rights, wherever they occurred, could not be tolerated and the UN should react quickly to serious human rights abuses and prevent their escalation. The Commission on Human Rights should adopt an emergency procedure based on a permanent register of experts—who could be called "white helmets"—at the Commission's disposition. They could be sent to countries where gross, massive human rights violations occurred, providing the Commission with information to facilitate follow-up measures. With regard to the protection of the German-speaking minority in South Tyrol, he said that only 3 out of 137 measures agreed upon by Austria and Italy in 1969 awaited implementation.

BELGIUM Paul De Keersmaeker, State Secretary for European Affairs and Agriculture, said that the rejection of communism meant that democracy and basic human rights were now quite likely to be accepted internationally. Having undergone the "great ordeals of the first half of this century", the European countries had "cast out their nationalistic demons, thanks to a policy of integration in numerous fields". The greater attention being devoted to the development of new East-West relations did not mean that Belgium, or indeed Europe, would forget the urgent issues pertaining to North-South relations, as the economic situation of many developing countries was also linked with the political reforms they were undertaking.

CANADA Barbara McDougall, Secretary of State for External Affairs, said delegates at the forty-sixth General Assembly must constantly remind themselves that they were not there to "represent blocs, nor to promote ideologies", but to "represent people". The international community must progress from a "world centred on the individual nation State to an interdependent world, from a world dominated by bilateral diplomacy to one in which multilateral institutions occupied a central place". Canada was making adaptations in the face of domestic challenges and was committed to improving the UN's ability to channel the military resources of Member States to peaceful purposes.

DENMARK Foreign Minister Uffe Elleman-Jensen said his country had always been a firm supporter of UN peace-keeping operations and believed that their role, especially in conflict prevention, should be increased. Only a few years ago, "many were disillusioned as to whether the United Nations could play a genuine role in solving conflicts and maintaining peace". That had changed dramatically. The international community's confidence in UN peace-keeping and peace-building activities had grown significantly. If the world community wished to remove some of the main causes of future refugee flows, the notion of state responsibility should be expanded to include creating "tolerable conditions for one's own citizens and not to dump one's problems on other countries' doorsteps".

FINLAND Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen said that "the capacity of the United Nations to main-

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tain and restore international peace and security is of continuing concern to Finland. The clandestine pursuit of weapons of mass destruction and massive transfers of conventional arms are cause for growing and justified concern. These sources of present and future instability should be addressed by strengthening non-proliferation arrangements.'' Finland believed in the establishment of a ''universal and non-discriminatory'' register of international arms transfers under UN management. In Europe, the passage of a new world order had led from confrontation to cooperation. ''A new comprehensive European architecture is currently being worked out'', he said.

FRANCE Roland Dumas, Minister of State and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said that history had suddenly accelerated, with a real revolution radically altering points of reference and sweeping away old habits. European experience showed that peace, prosperity and identity could only be established in a lasting manner through the sharing of national sovereignties. The European Community had ''become a benchmark for some and for others a source of admiration''. Strengthened by a ''Germany at last reunited'', the European Community would continue its progress towards unity. Europe needs a ''new pact right now'', he said. The essence of this proposal was to ''go beyond the logic of aid'', in order to arrive at a ''real political, economic and social community on the continent''.

GERMANY Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Vice-Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said that Europe should ''develop in close transatlantic solidarity'', reflected by the North Atlantic alliance and involvement of the United States and Canada in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) process. ''The less necessary it becomes to protect oneself from threats from outside, the more we need a system in which all cooperate in guaranteeing common security.'' Addressing the Assembly for the first time as the Foreign Minister of united Germany, he commemorated ''all those who had to sacrifice their lives and their freedom in prisons and camps'' and those who, in what was then the German Democratic Republic, as everywhere in Central and Eastern Europe, ''took to the streets to gain freedom, democracy and unity by peaceful means''. His people were determined to draw conclusions from the ''ill-fated chapters'' of their history and help ''build a Europe based on responsibility and not on the power politics of the past''.

GREECE Foreign Minister Andonis Samaras said that the dire economic conditions in Albania had sent ''tens of thousands of refugees to Greece, Italy and other countries''. He urged the Albanian Government to promote economic reforms—especially full property rights—so that its people would be able to support themselves in their own country in the near future. The crisis in Yugoslavia, partly due to the country's multi-ethnic composition, was threatening to ''reinstate the turbulent history of the Balkans''. Greece remained committed to a ''serious and fruitful dialogue with Turkey with a view to overcoming the causes of friction'' which had ''created dangerous tensions in the past''. Cyprus was the only long-standing problem in Europe to remain unresolved.

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ICELAND Foreign Minister Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson compared the present situation in Europe to the years after the Second World War, saying there had been ''the same mood of despondency and frustration''. The present opportunity to revitalize the UN was a ''true peace dividend'', which could be seized by acting quickly to solidify UN measures designed to ''establish a stable world order of the oceans''. With regard to environmental protection, he believed that the ''most significant initial action that States could take in the interests of the oceans' threatened life-support system'' was to ratify the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea.

IRELAND Foreign Minister Gerard Collins said his country sought the ''peaceful and voluntary reconciliation of two conflicting traditions'' in Northern Ireland and was opposed, ''as a matter of fundamental principle, to all recourse to violence''. The 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement had provided a valuable mechanism of cooperation on a wide range of issues relating to Northern Ireland'', including the eradication of discrimination, particularly in employment, even-handedness in the behaviour of the security forces and in the administration of justice, respect for human rights and the rule of law, and equality of esteem and treatment for both traditions. Proper funding of UN peace-keeping operations was essential. His country had contributed more than 33,000 personnel to UN service, and was involved currently in nine operations.

ITALY Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis said that in Eastern Europe, millions were "paying dearly for the disastrous consequences of false myths and ideologies". It would be an "illusion to think that mere reversion to democracy and a market economy" could lead to rapid recovery, as long as their society was in a "state of dissolution". Western Europe should actively contribute to the establishment of the new world order, which "must reflect the logic of integration as against the logic of disintegration, dissension and intolerance". It would be inappropriate for "countries committed to liberal and social democracy, to erect a new wall to keep out others". Western Europe had to be prepared for substantial financial sacrifices. "A truly new order must come to grips with the poverty and underdevelopment that lie at the root of the disarray we see in the world today."

LIECHTENSTEIN Prince Hans-Adam II von und zu Liechtenstein, Head of State, said that small States had a "special need for protection and security". The Principality of Liechtenstein, although it was a "prosperous and secure country surrounded by two permanently neutral neighbours", was protected only by respect for international law. Thus, his country was "deeply committed to the principles of the sovereign equality, political independence and territorial integrity of States". The role of the UN had changed, as the Organization had entered a new phase. In the absence of great-Power confrontation, it was acting more efficiently and "concentrating on the cause of peace and security".

UN Photo 178447/M. Grant

LUXEMBOURG Jacques F. Poos, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said that political, economic and monetary union were essential if Europe was to participate in the "construction of tomorrow's world". The work of renewal in Europe could not fail to affect the UN. However, "our Organization, confident of its renewed capacity to act, should have a range of effective tools capable of safeguarding international peace and security, meeting the many socio-economic ills, helping States in their difficult process of democratic and economic transition and, finally, promoting respect for human rights and the primacy of law in international relations". Furthermore, every man and woman, wherever they might reside, should have the "right to individual recourse against any violation of his or her fundamental rights before the International Court of Justice".

MALTA Guido de Marco, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Justice, said his country, as an island and Mediterranean State, advocated that "naval disarmament should feature prominently in international negotiations". The process unfolding in Europe in nuclear disarmament must be extended to cover sea-based as well as airborne sites. "As much as we need open skies, we need open seas", he added. The linkage between security in Europe and in the Mediterranean had been recognized, but the Mediterranean was "far from being a lake of peace". The economic and social challenges facing North African countries, the situation in the Middle East and the Cyprus question were "prejudicing the prospects for peace and security in the region".

NETHERLANDS Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek, speaking on behalf of the European Community and its Member States, said that in the economic and political fields, they were "determined to remain open-minded, ready to play a responsible role, both in Europe and in the world as a whole". In the CSCE, the 38 European and North American member States had "developed norms of State behaviour" which, while based on UN Charter principles, went clearly beyond them in scope and commitment. The Charter of Paris, concluded at the November 1990 CSCE summit, spelled out the "new democratic consensus in Europe, taking human rights as the key to the organization of both political and socio-economic life". Economic growth which failed to take into account the ecological balance became "self-defeating". Environmental concerns should be fully integrated into the economic process.

NEW ZEALAND Prime Minister James Brendan Bolger said that his country, as one of the first nations to sign and ratify the Non-Proliferation Treaty, firmly believed that "attempts to halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons must be an agenda item of the highest priority for the Organization". The dangers from nuclear weapons were such that "failure to halt their proliferation would seriously diminish the recent success in strategic arms reductions". He welcomed the decision of France and China to join the Treaty, which now covered all current nuclear Powers of the world. All parties should agree to its indefinite extension in 1995. A free and fair trade system was central to efforts to conserve and enhance the environment. New Zealand was the "first anywhere to enshrine the concept of sustainable development in legislation on natural resources".

UN Photo 178107/J. Bu

NORWAY Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland said that, following the profound changes in the Soviet Union, the world must "accelerate the integration of the East into the world economy". "We need a more dynamic, better focused and securely financed" UN to set priorities based on present and future needs. Norway maintained its development assistance in excess of 1 per cent of the gross domestic product, "the highest in the world". Yet, aid alone could never solve the poverty problem. Aid had to be "designed to help in building sound economies and in implementing policies of social reform". Scientific evidence showed how serious environmental problems were. "We were overloading the planet's ability to absorb the effects of human activities in ways never before experienced in human history."

PORTUGAL Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro stated that only "through dialogue and international cooperation" would it be possible to "overcome the difficulties and roadblocks" that affected the international community. It was in that spirit that his country participated in the Assembly's present session and looked forward to "undertaking the presidency of the European Community in 1992". Africa, a continent to which Portugal was "linked by historical and cultural ties", was witnessing efforts of an "increasing number of countries to democratize their regimes, as well as progress in the field of human rights and the creation of market economies". Referring to East Timor, Portugal had been constantly "drawing the international community's attention to the seriousness of the situation prevailing there".

SPAIN King Don Juan Carlos I said that his country spared no effort in collaborating with the UN, participating in peace-keeping forces and actively promoting peace and coexistence in different parts of the world. Next year, Spain would be fully integrated into the European Community, and the Community itself would complete its single market and take "new and decisive steps towards political, economic and monetary union". In 1992—"five centuries after the initial meeting between the old and the new worlds"—his country would host such important events as the Seville World Fair, the Barcelona Olympic Games and the Second Ibero-American Conference. Thus, his country would be a "meeting-place for men and women from all over the world, a crossroads for scientific and cultural contributions and sporting successes, and a setting for reflection and plans for our common future".

UN Photo 178562/J. Isaac

SWEDEN Foreign Minister Margaretha af Ugglas said that her country was fully determined to "support the transition to democratic systems" in Europe, but that would not affect "our assistance to other parts of the world''. Sweden would ''live up to its international commitments regarding development assistance'', including the ''allocation of 1 per cent of our gross national income'' to those purposes. The European Community constituted the ''central powerful force in the emerging new Europe'' and was ''living proof that purposeful cooperation between States'' could lead to ''new and dynamic ways of working together'' and ''relegate traditional tensions to the history books''. Sweden's wish to become a member of the European Community was an expression of its desire to participate in the endeavours to ''pave the way for new forms of cooperation within the Community and in Europe—a Europe open to the outside world''.

TURKEY Foreign Minister I. Safa Giray said that the Gulf crisis had ''provided clear evidence of the new resolve on the part of the world community that aggression and violation of international law shall not be tolerated''. The post-war policies of the Iraqi leadership had been a source of major concern for Turkey. Iraq's full compliance with all relevant Security Council resolutions was the ''rightful expectation'' of the international community and a prerequisite for resumption by that country of its ''place in the family of nations''. Peace and stability in the Balkan region depended in large measure on what happened in Yugoslavia, and a speedy settlement of the crisis was crucial to both the region and the rest of Europe. A new power-sharing solution in Cyprus should ''fully take into account the legitimate rights and interests of both sides and should in no way be the source of future conflicts in the island and beyond''.

UN Photo 178301/M. Grant

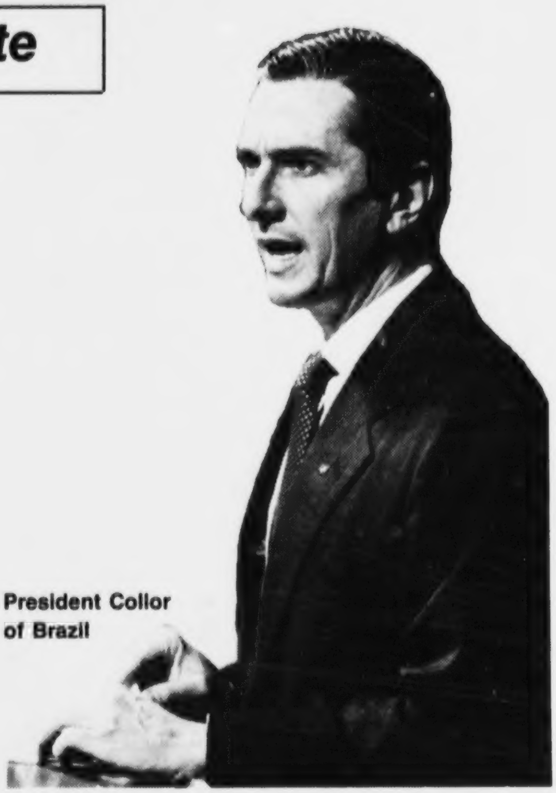
UNITED KINGDOM Douglas Hurd, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, said that after the old system had gone, a new system was ''struggling to birth''—a system trying to ''accommodate the principle of national identity without following that principle into anarchy''. Nationalism was a legitimate expression of a people's aspirations, but it could be ''dangerous unless nation States work together for collective security and collective prosperity''. That was evident as the tragedy in Yugoslavia unfolded. He also called for recognition of the courage shown by President De Klerk, Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the South African people. Practical help to the ''new South Africa'' should be forthcoming. The United Nations could help with the increasing number of migrants around the world.

UN Photo 178242/E. Debebe

UNITED STATES President George Bush stated that, to a large extent, it was the ''information revolution'' that had ''destroyed the weapons of enforced isolation and ignorance''. In many parts of the world, technology had overwhelmed tyranny, ''proving that the age of information can become the age of liberation''. By the same token, the world had learned that free markets provided levels of prosperity, growth and happiness that centrally planned economies could never offer. A year ago, the Soviet Union had joined the United States and a host of other countries in ''defending a tiny country against aggression and opposing Saddam Hussein''. The UN, ''in one of its finest moments'', had constructed a ''measured, principled, deliberate and courageous response''. The coalition effort had ''established a model for the collective settlement of disputes''. It had also proved that the UN ''can serve as a vehicle through which willing parties can settle old disputes''.

Latin America and the Caribbean

Democratic ships of State 'Sailing through dangerous waters. . .'



President Collor of Brazil

UN Photo 178100/M. Grant

The demise of the old bipolar world order and the triumph of democracy in Eastern Europe were consistently applauded by Latin American and Caribbean speakers who pointed out that the winds of change had blown clear to their own hemisphere. Despite a lingering cold-war chill over United States-Cuban relations and the military coup in Haiti, more countries in the region were living under democratic regimes than ever before.

But President Rodrigo Borja of Ecuador spoke for many when he stated that the region had only "scraps of democracy". Although virtually all Latin American countries had Governments elected by popular vote, political progress had not been translated into economic prosperity and social well-being. The region's democratic regimes might be unable to meet the long-standing, legitimate demands of their peoples. In short, they were "sailing through dangerous waters".

Positive developments included progress towards ending warfare and furthering political and economic integration in the region. Negotiations on El Salvador and Guatemala continued. Chile and Argentina were in the process of solving their border dispute.

A web of bilateral and multilateral ties was being woven. Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay, which together represented one third of the gross domestic product and one half of the population of Latin America and the Caribbean, had signed a treaty establishing the Common Market of the South, hoping to have it set up by 31 December 1994.

Four Windward-Island countries—Dominica, Grenada, Saint Lucia, and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines—were discussing a possible political union.

Also high on the list of concerns were drug abuse and the international criminal activity it engendered. Global cooperation was necessary.

Broader questions of poverty and underdevelopment—the "dangerous waters" threatening to throw fledgling democracies off course—produced more pessimistic comment. "The relaxing of tensions between the super-Powers has not put bread on the table of the poor", said Colombian Foreign Minister Luis Jaramillo. Many speakers lamented the massive debt burden and spoke of the need for debt forgiveness and new flows of official development assistance. Many also expressed fear that the developing world would have to compete for aid with Eastern Europe's economies in transition. Speaker after speaker called for a satisfactory conclusion to the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade talks.

Environmental protection was seen as "one of the most formidable challenges of our time", not just by the small island States directly threatened by a rise in sea level resulting from global warming.

"We cannot abide having an environmentally sound planet and a socially unjust world", said President Fernando Collor of Brazil, which will host the UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992. It was hoped that this so-called "Earth Summit" would result in a global partnership to balance the needs of the North and the South.

From the debate

ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA Lionel A. Hurst, Permanent Representative to the UN, said that the brutal environmental assault unleashed by the industrial revolution could not continue. The planet showed "extreme signs of wear" and it was evident that humanity could not pursue its present course for another hundred years. Low-lying island countries in the Caribbean and the Pacific were the "front-line countries" that would suffer the severest consequences of even a mild climate change. These States, which stood "in real danger of being submerged in a swollen ocean", were working to articulate a common position during negotiations on the climate change convention. Attention was also drawn to Antarctica, the "frozen and unspoiled continent", which should be brought under UN control.

ARGENTINA Guido Di Tella, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Worship, said that his country was building sound political and economic stability as the result of three serious crises over the past 15 years: the Malvinas (Falkland Islands) crisis in foreign policy; human rights; and hyperinflation. "The best thing that a country can do is to avoid crises; the next best is to learn from them, and that is what Argentina has done, he said. His country wanted to be a part of the new international order and aspired to "the consolidation of a greater Latin American nation encompassing the entire region". To those ends, Argentina had re-established "excellent and mutually beneficial" relations with the United Kingdom and had recently signed an agreement to end the dispute over its long border with Chile.

BAHAMAS Sir Clement T. Maynard, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Public Personnel, said "the international drug trade has generated social, economic and political problems of such magnitude that the global community is obliged to continue investing vast efforts and resources in combating it". A well-coordinated and properly financed plan, with the commitment of Governments, was required to combat it. The Bahamas supported the increased emphasis on "galvanizing the framework for international cooperation in drug control". In 1992, his country would commemorate "an inescapable part" of its history—the quincentennial anniversary of the encounter of two worlds. When Columbus first landed in San Salvador, the Bahamas became the first known part of the new world.

UN Photo 178712/M. Grant

BARBADOS Foreign Minister Maurice A. King said that the pursuit of sustainable development in his country was hampered by contradictory signals from the North. Barbados had willingly followed all the accepted prescriptions for development, evolving against a background of genuine democracy, respect for human rights and the rule of law. Its comprehensive network of social services and high quality of life had been recognized. Ironically, the international economic environment provided no reward for good performance, he said. Without a supportive network to encourage middle-income developing countries towards higher stages of development, their situation would remain "a constant game of snakes and ladders".

BELIZE Carl L. B. Rogers, Permanent Representative to the UN, noting the emergence in the past years of "earth patriotism", said Belize was committed to the "great task of protecting the survival of man's natural heritage". His Government had just enacted legislation aimed at protecting the environment, but global consensus was needed to deal effectively with the degradation and depletion of "God's gift to mankind". Belize was home to the world's second largest barrier reef, whose preservation required international assistance, for its loss "would be felt globally". Guatemala's recent recognition of Belize's independence and the establishment of full diplomatic relations between the two countries marked "the beginning of a new chapter" in their relations.

UN Photo 178483/M. Grant

BOLIVIA Carlos Iturralde-Ballivian, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Worship, said that years of economic adjustment in his country "have been a severe trial". Yet the process had consolidated the stability of the currency, reduced the budget deficit, amortized public debt, increased gross domestic product and reduced inflation. Thus, "with the moral encouragement of a job well done", Bolivia had "achieved a substantial reduction in bilateral debt". His country had contributed substantially to the struggle against drug trafficking through the introduction of alternative development. But replacing the coca economy with another diversified industry was not enough. Greater financial and technical resources were needed "to defeat the scourge" of drug trafficking. In this regard, he emphasized "the principle of collective or shared responsibility between producer and consumer States".

BRAZIL President Fernando Collor said the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development "has an inescapable obligation to future generations". Issues to be discussed at the Conference would include policies to eradicate poverty and correct unsustainable patterns of production and consumption. It "should not set the stage for grievances and recrimination", but should provide a framework for mature and feasible proposals. The political task of peace-building "depends on economic development which, in turn, is dependent on environmentally sustainable economic models". Nobody could feel at peace on a planet "where the poor and forsaken are dramatically expanding in number and in extent". Developing countries were "worse off today than they were 10 years ago". Among the obstacles faced were the acute problem of external indebtedness "that drains the developing countries of scarce capital" and arbitrary constraints on the transfer of technology.

CHILE Foreign Minister Enrique Silva-Cimma said that human dignity was a central concern. "It is democratic systems, despite their imperfections, which afford the best guarantees of respect for the human being and which most effectively promote healthy international coexistence." Democratic Governments themselves should invite observers from the UN or regional organizations during their electoral processes, in order to make the practice universal, rendering "obsolete the argument that it constitutes a threat to sovereignty". Chile and Latin America had been part of "the formidable progress made by the cause of freedom in a few short but intense years", and a spirit of understanding and cooperation inspired all Latin American nations to make the region one where peace and democracy prevailed.

COLOMBIA Foreign Minister Luis Fernando Jaramillo stressed that more than ever, international cooperation was required to combat organized crime. As Colombian President César Gaviria had said, criminal groups were "becoming true multinational organizations", with criminals paying no heed to nationalities or borders. It was necessary to oppose the internationalization of crime with the "universalization of justice". His country considered it a moral and legal obligation of all States to make available to others any evidence they had against criminals, particularly if these criminals were involved in "crimes of multinational scope such as drug trafficking and terrorism". Arms dealing was another problem "of great concern". All countries should be committed to giving priority to the establishment of effective control over the licit and illicit transfer of arms.

COSTA RICA Bernd Niehaus-Quesada, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Worship, said that progress had been made towards democracy and the resolution of conflicts in Central America, but had been inadequate in the area of disarmament. Despite regional negotiations on security, arms control and verification—all of great concern to his country which had no army—the size of some regional armed forces was still disproportionate to the needs of Central America. There was an urgent need to reduce the international nuclear-arms race to a minimum, to avoid the proliferation of nuclear weapons and to cease all nuclear testing, he said. Priority should also be given to limiting conventional weapons and international weapons transfers.

CUBA Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca Peoli said that "those who defend the so-called intrinsic good of the market-economy system forget that almost all the underdeveloped countries are using that model and that for most . . . this has meant infinite wretchedness". Until 1959, this system had imposed the most dreadful economic backwardness and lack of basic rights on the Cuban people. "And now we are being asked to return to that situation in the name of being up to date." The Cuban Revolution could no doubt be improved, but Cubans would "never abandon it". The simultaneous withdrawal from our country of the Soviet and American military personnel would be the "only equitable, just and honourable way out".

DOMINICA Brian Alleyne, Minister for External Affairs, said protecting the world's environment could not be at the expense of the underdeveloped South, while the people of the developed North "enjoy to the full, and exclusively, the benefits reaped from the almost total depletion of the natural resources of their regions". In justice, the industrialized countries should not only work to halt environmental deterioration, but also help bring to the developing world "a fair share of the benefits of development". He also spoke of the tragedy of Haiti, where, he said, "the violent and illegal interruption of the democratic process in that sister Caribbean republic cannot be tolerated".

UN Photo 178700/M. Grant

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC Foreign Minister Juan Aristides Taveras Guzman said that his country had seen the political, social, economic and environmental misfortunes that had, "like ruinous plagues", befallen the Haitian people and had observed how they spilled into the neighbouring area in "endless waves of desperation". But no one could ask the Dominican Republic, a tiny nation, "to assume the burden of all the Haitians who have been driven out of their country by desperation and hunger". Moreover, "with the upheaval caused by the war in Central America, a little more than 1 million Guatemalans, Salvadorians, Nicaraguans and Hondurans have left their countries to seek refuge—political and economic refuge—in the United States and neighbouring countries".

ECUADOR President Rodrigo Borja said that, while Marxism had "failed in practice" because those who embraced it "strayed from its original essentially liberating intent", one could not "but credit them for having been the first to denounce the insensitive moral values of an unjustly structured society; the abuses of the unbridled capitalism of the nineteenth century; and the economic selfishness of the ruling classes". While virtually all Latin American countries had Governments elected by popular vote, "political progress has not been translated into economic prosperity and social well-being". On the contrary, democratic systems had "inherited the heavy burden" of financial crisis, making the "task of Government an extremely difficult enterprise" of trying to maintain the course of democracy in the midst of a tempest.

EL SALVADOR President Alfredo Felix Cristiani-Burkard said he had been working with the UN Secretary-General to find a solution to the Salvadorian conflict. The time had come for the 10-year fratricidal war to end. The process of peacemaking and democratization in El Salvador had made "persevering and significant progress", he said. "The main roadblocks have been removed, and only the final details remain to be resolved." Although the Salvadorian war had been caused by "grave shortcomings and errors within our society", once unleashed, "it took on the shadings of the global conflict". For the greater part of this century, the development of "an incredible system of intimidation in the world order" had made Salvadorians the scapegoats of an "abusive and irrational polarity".

GRENADA Eugene M. Pursoo, Permanent Representative to the UN, said the rate of development of Grenada or of any small island country "is a function of international economic and political trends". There were "blatant imbalances" in economic and social development worldwide and "the case for official development assistance and the transfer of real resources from the North to the South has never been as strong as it is today", when massive debt burdens, drastic declines in prices for raw-material exports, persistent poverty and marginalized economies were prevalent in the third world. "We in Grenada are creeping under the weight of debt and the pressure of economic difficulties." The political peace that had been dutifully created was now supported by a comprehensive development strategy.

GUATEMALA President Jorge Serrano Elias rejoiced in the end of the cold war which had become "a bloody battle" from which no country had been free, including Guatemala. A comprehensive peace initiative before his nation now sought to bring an end to armed struggle by a direct dialogue between the Government and the insurgency forces. What his country was spending to maintain the conflict was "money that our people urgently need" in order to solve its economic and social problems. He said that, after 30 years of confrontation, there was hope that "the guns may fall silent and ideas at long last be heard". Guatemala had also taken the fundamental step of recognizing "the right to self-determination of the people of Belize", thus opening the way to the final ending of a conflict dating back to 1859.

GUYANA Cedric H. Grant, Special Advisor to the President, said that with continued recession, particularly in Latin America and Africa, economic decline had "reached the point where the prospects of recovery are becoming remote" and poverty had become "endemic". Better terms of trade, not just more aid, would alleviate some of the developing world's critical economic problems. Guyana was further concerned that the developing countries had to compete for financing with the Eastern and Central European "economies in transition" from "a command economy to one that is market-oriented". The developing countries were "already integrated into the world economy, but on unequal terms".

HAITI President Jean-Bertrand Aristide said that since the UN-sponsored elections of 1990, his country had been moving towards a meeting place "around the democratic table, not a minority on the table nor a majority under the table". At the close of the twentieth century, "Haiti renounces absolute power, embraces participative democracy and sings the hymn of . . . liberty won; pride regained; dignity reborn". His was "a land of non-violence, where 85 per cent of the population is still crushed by economic violence, is still illiterate—but not stupid". Cooperation from the world community in "making these victims literate" would attest "to a determination to combat economic violence". Also, the tragedy of hunger in Haiti arose not from the lack of food but from a lack of social justice.

HONDURAS Foreign Minister Mario Carias Zapata said that the UN contribution to peace in Central America had been "timely and invaluable". The region's socio-political problems, together with tensions reflecting the East-West conflict, had "triggered an acute crisis in the 1980s that posed a real threat to regional and international peace and security". In 1991, confrontation had given way to understanding and cooperation. Regarding Central American security, the security commission that had been meeting, with UN participation as observer, had not made the progress hoped for. For this reason, Honduras proposed a draft regional security treaty to its neighbours.

JAMAICA David Coore, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade, spoke of an unfinished agenda of issues to be addressed, now that the old issues of the bipolar, post-war era had disappeared. Foremost were the economic issues of development and trade; the uneven distribution of world production; and the "increasing impoverishment of large sections of the planet in both relative and absolute terms" when compared with the increasing affluence of a smaller fraction of the world's peoples. This "unhappy divergence" was taking place between and within nations, and even the most affluent were becoming aware of the consequences for political stability and social order. The debt crisis was becoming "a permanent debilitating condition", denying many countries economic growth and threatening the collapse of social services.

UN Photo 178585/J. Isaac

MEXICO Foreign Minister Fernando Solana Morales disagreed with the argument that in today's interdependent world, it was anachronistic to refer to the legal equality of States or respect for their sovereign rights. Mexico was concerned about "a dangerous tendency in international forums" to promote initiatives undermining principles as "fundamental as the self-determination of peoples and non-intervention". It would be a mistake for the UN to concentrate on the so-called "new issues or emergency problems" and neglect issues that have been on the agenda for years. "The development and codification of international law" had been and should continue to be a UN priority. As for a new world order, "little has been done to give serious collective thought to the matter".

NICARAGUA Foreign Minister Enrique Dreyfus Morales said that the total military expenditure of developing countries, which had been estimated at 4.3 per cent of gross domestic product for 1988 and had increased at twice the growth rate of per capita income between 1960 and 1988, was a special concern for Nicaragua. It was necessary to definitively prohibit war and "aspire to achieve a 50 per cent reduction in military expenditure by the end of this decade, reallocating the resources thus freed to the most urgent social priorities". During 1991, Nicaragua had reduced its armed forces from 90,000 to 21,000 troops—"the smallest army in Central America". The new Government ended "hyperinflation", but an immense task of reconstruction lay ahead.

PANAMA President Guillermo Endara Galimany said that poverty was "making inroads every day", with 1,000 million people living in dire need in devloping countries. "We shall ensure that next century's world is better than this one if we understand that we cannot create in one part of society wealth that is based on poverty in another part—either internationally or nationally." Relationships between North and South had to be based on "mutual respect and acceptance of the just value that human labour deserves in every region". The Panama Canal would become Panamanian not only in name but in reality as of 31 December 1999. Panama was preparing itself responsibly for the administration of "this national resource, which also constitutes a resource of mankind".

UN Photo 178763/M. Grant

PARAGUAY Hugo Saguier Caballero, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, said that his country looked forward to "enthusiastic participation" in the 1992 Conference on Environment. It would "adopt concrete measures", sign environmental protection agreements and set aside a large quantity of territory as a protected zone. The notion of development today was indissolubly linked with that of preserving the environment and it was time to create conditions for more sustainable development. The Asuncion Treaty, which established the Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR), reflected a common goal of achieving development through integration.

PERU Carlos Torres y Torres Lara, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said drug trafficking had had a profound and adverse effect on Peru, where the coca leaf was grown as a traditional part of Andean life. But Peruvian peasants were not drug traffickers; their production was distorted by the indiscriminate international consumption of cocaine. In May, Peru and the United States had signed an agreement on drug control and alternative development policy, which recognized the failure of repressive measures previously employed and the causal relationship between consumption and production of drugs. Terrorism was another "serious problem" confronting Peru, where criminal acts over the past 11 years had resulted in the loss of more than 22,000 lives and in economic losses equivalent to 90 per cent of Peru's gross domestic product.

SAINT KITTS AND NEVIS Kennedy A. Simmonds, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, said that attaching environmental conditions to development assistance for poor countries was a "disturbing trend". There had to be a balance between these two issues. The Caribbean islands, he said, were "a string of pearls linking North and South America, beautiful but vulnerable", not only to natural disasters but also to an unjust international economic order.

SAINT LUCIA Foreign Minister Neville Cenac warned that the population of the developing countries had grown from 1.7 billion in 1950 to over 4 billion today, and it would be nearly 5 billion by the end of the century. Within the next nine years, Africa alone would have an additional 200 million people, Latin America and the Caribbean another 100 million. "This nightmarish population crisis, coupled with developmental stagnation", had created conditions wherein 2 billion people in the developing world had no safe water and an equal number faced chronic hunger. If deforestation, overgrazing and non-stop cultivation of overused land continued, desertification would soon affect some 1.2 billion people of the developing world.

SAINT VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES Jonathan Peters, Minister in the Office of the Prime Minister, stated that his Government continued "vigorously to promote unification among the countries of the Windward Islands" because harsh reality had taught them that, regardless of efficient management and planning, it was virtually impossible to satisfy the rising expectations of their populations. His country, along with other developing African, Pacific and Caribbean countries, continued to pursue structural-adjustment policies. "We, the banana-producing countries in the Caribbean, being essentially small, mountainous islands, have difficulty competing with large-scale consortiums in other countries, and our democracy and social progress could well be damaged by any sudden denial of our trading arrangements in a post-1992 Europe."

SURINAME President Runaldo Ronald Venetiaan called the drug problem "a phenomenon so pervasive that it defies national boundaries, so persistent that the fight against it devours many national treasuries and, indeed, so devastating that it threatens to destroy the very essence of civilized man". Suriname had begun to take national action to fight the "evil and illicit trafficking and use of drugs", but "decisive and coordinated actions" were also needed at the regional and global levels". Suriname had voted for a return to democracy this year. "We have built a bridge to the new world", he said, "for we have learned that the democratic road is the most effective means to remove physical borders to establish a world in which genuine interdependence will dominate over narrow-minded chauvinism".

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO Marjorie Thorpe, Permanent Representative to the UN, said that trade opportunities were pivotal in reactivating the economies of the developing world which faced, however, "a paradoxical situation". Competitive exports resulting from the structural adjustment programmes and economic diversification that developing countries had been urged to undertake were being barred from the market places in the North by a new wave of protectionism which coincided, moreover, with historically low commodity prices. She also said that illicit drug use and trafficking were a "social plague and a threat to the international community". Trinidad and Tobago could ill afford to continue diverting limited resources from development programmes into the fight against "a growing tide of criminal activity".

UN Photo 178520/M. Grant

URUGUAY Foreign Minister Héctor Gros-Espiell warned that the end of the cold war did not necessarily mean the end of armed conflict, so a strong collective security system was an important issue. The system established by the Charter had not been applied for more than 45 years because an assumed political understanding among Security Council permanent members on which it was based had been absent, thus paralysing the UN. The experience of the Gulf crisis showed that it was imperative to "ensure that the system operates with full respect for the Charter". The general principles that apply to environmental protection must be set out in the form of a convention at the 1992 Rio Conference. It should contain "criteria for setting up a legal system to resolve environmental disputes and judge offences or crimes by means of a specialized judicial body".

VENEZUELA President Carlos Andres Perez called on the world community to move from East-West confrontation to North-South cooperation and said that it was time to ask both the United States and Cuba to cease their cold-war confrontation. "Let us have confidence that Cuba will open itself to the universal concept of democracy as we would all wish and that the United States will be open to a dialogue that puts an end to sanctions that have lost all justification and validity." The new democracies in Latin America would not be secure if the area's Governments could not "significantly improve the quality of life of their people. Our democracies will not be able to survive if there is a massive increase in critical poverty and if social tensions are aggravated."

'The war is over'

Agreement reached to end 12-year conflict in El Salvador

UN Photo

The 31 December signing ceremony—a career-crowning achievement for Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar.

On the night of 31 December, representatives of the Salvadorian Government, led by President Alfredo Cristiani, and of the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberacíon Nacional (FMLN) reached an agreement at UN Headquarters in New York, setting terms for a cease-fire and an end to El Salvador's 12-year civil war, which has cost nearly 75,000 lives and resulted in more than a million refugees.

The agreement—to be known as the "Act of New York"—was the dramatic culmination of 20 months of on-again, off-again, peace talks under UN auspices. It was reached on the last day in office of UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, who had taken an intense personal interest in resolving the problem. A formal cease-fire is scheduled to begin on 1 February 1992, with the disarmament and demobilization of FMLN members by 31 October 1992. The FMLN had announced its intention to cease hostilities on 16 November. The latest series of talks had begun on 16 December.

The year 1992 "will be the year of peace and harmony for a country very dear to you", Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar told negotiators of both sides as they waited to sign the Act in his office.

The agreement capped an extraordinary day of talks that saw the departing Secretary-General postpone his retirement hour after hour to continue prodding the negotiators to settle their differences before the year ended.

When the Act was finally signed, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar said of his career-crowning achievement: "I feel very proud. I am a free man. I feel as light as a feather."

Negotiators from the two sides warmly embraced each other after the signing ceremony. They said the agreement would bring about a sweeping transformation of Salvadorian society, marked by stronger respect for human rights.

President Cristiani said: "This signing constitutes the beginning of a new era of rebuilding towards democracy and freedom." He praised the FMLN negotiators' courage in agreeing to the cease-fire and said: "We feel much relieved, and we trust real progress can now be made by the Salvadorian people."

Salvador Sánchez Cerén, an FMLN negotiator and the top commander, said: "The war in El Salvador is over." He added that the FMLN's "10 years of struggle" were expressed in the agreement.

Mr. Sánchez and other negotiators said the agreement would sharply reduce the size of the military—from the current estimate of 53,000 to about 22,000—and its political role; purge the military of officers who were either corrupt or abusive of human rights; change its doctrine and restructure its education and training; and turn over control of public order to a new national civil police. It would also provide full political freedom to former FMLN combatants after they had laid down their arms, and provide land for peasants in FMLN-held zones.

The agreement, which would alter the Government's conservative social and economic policies, calls for social programmes to be put into place to ease the effects of current economic austerity policies.

The terms of the agreement are to be verified by the UN, through a contingent of special representatives in El Salvador.

A document of more than 100 pages, the Act includes a detailed scenario for a cease-fire that would last several months, while the estimated 6,000 FMLN members gathered in UN-protected security enclaves. Eventually, the FMLN members are to be disarmed, demobilized and reincorporated into civilian life, a transition to be smoothed by a host of guarantees for their security and social welfare, as well as UN supervision.

Donna DeCesare/Impact Visuals

Celebrating the agreement in the streets of El Salvador.

The Act's preamble stated that the Government of El Salvador and the FMLN "hereby declare that they have reached definitive agreements which, combined with those previously signed at San José, Mexico City and New York, complete the negotiations on all substantive items of the Caracas Agenda and the New York Compressed Negotiation". Their implementation would put a final end to the Salvadorian armed conflict.

According to the preamble, an agreement had also been reached on all technical and military aspects relating to the "separation of the warring parties and the cessation of the armed conflict, which includes the end of the military structure of FMLN and the reintegration of its members, within a framework of full legality, into the civil, political and institutional life of the country".

The parties also agreed to negotiate the timetable for implementing the agreements and the procedure for ending the FMLN's military structure and reintegrating its members into the life of the country.

The parties undertook to "preserve the atmosphere necessary for maintaining and expanding the unilateral decisions which they have taken in order to avoid all military activity", the preamble concluded.

Council welcome

On 3 January 1992, the Security Council warmly welcomed the agreement and said that when implemented, it would put a definite end to the Salvadorian armed conflict.

In a statement issued on behalf of Council members, Council President Sir David Hannay of the United Kingdom said the agreement was of vital importance for the normalization of the situation in El Salvador and in the region as a whole. They urged the parties to show maximum flexibility in resolving the pending issues and to exercise maximum restraint and take no action which would be contrary to the agreement and to the excellent spirit in which the talks had taken place.

Negotiations on the pending issues were successfully completed on 14 January 1992. The Government of El Salvador and the FMLN said in a communiqué that the way was clear for the final signature of the agreement in Mexico City on 16 January 1992. The communiqué was also signed by Alvaro de Soto, the Secretary-General's Personal Representative for Central America.

On 2 January 1992, Mr. de Soto told reporters in New York that eight substantive agreements had been attached to the main peace agreement between the parties, relating in particular to the armed forces, the national civil police, economic and social issues, including land issues, political participation by the FMLN from the time of the cease-fire onwards, and the judiciary and electoral system.

Three members were appointed to the Commission on the Truth in December, as requested under the Mexico Agreement signed by the Salvadorian Government and the FMLN on 27 April. They are: Belisario Betancur, former President of Colombia; Reinaldo Figueredo, former Foreign Minister of Venezuela; and Professor Thomas Buergenthal of the United States, President of the Inter-American Institute for Human Rights. The Commission would investigate serious acts of violence that had occurred since 1980.

ONUCA mandate extended

The Security Council on 6 November extended the mandate of the UN Observer Group in Central America (ONUCA) until 30 April 1992. (However, on 16 January, the Council decided to terminate ONUCA's mandate effective 17 January.) In unanimously adopting resolution 719 (1991), the Council also approved the Secretary-General's report *(S/23171)* on the Group's activities for the previous six months.

ONUCA was set up by the Council in 1989 to monitor compliance by the five Central American Governments—Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua—with their security commitments under the 1987 Esquipulas II Agreements.

Assembly endorsement

On 17 December, the General Assembly fully endorsed the Secretary-General's efforts to bring about a firm and lasting peace in Central America.

In adopting resolution 46/109 without a vote, the Assembly urged El Salvador and the FMLN to step up confidence-building and security measures unilaterally adopted by them, in order to halt the armed confrontation, pending the conclusion of political agreements to end the armed conflict and achieve other goals of the Geneva Agreement of 4 April 1990. (That Agreement was signed by the El Salvador Government and the FMLN to end quickly the armed conflict, "promote the democratization of the country, guarantee unrestricted respect for human rights and reunify Salvadorian society".)

The Assembly also expressed support for the negotiation process between Guatemala and the Unidad Revolucionaría Nacional Guatemalteca (URNG), and encouraged them to continue their efforts to reach a political solution.

The Assembly reviewed two reports: one from the UN Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) *(A/46/658-S/23222 and Corr.1)*; the other from the Secretary-General *(A/46/713-S/23256)*. The Mission stated it had begun to exercise the full verification powers granted it by the Agreement on Human Rights signed in San José on 26 July 1990. ONUSAL had established initial contacts with many organizations representing civilian society, as well as first contacts with the FMLN.

ONUSAL had also investigated human rights violations and maintained an ongoing dialogue with the FMLN concerning alleged violations of the San José Agreement.

The Mission had received some 1,000 complaints of alleged human rights violations. Violations investigated were death threats, enforced or involuntary disappearances, torture and acts or threats of violence.

The Mission recommended that El Salvador establish mechanisms to ensure that attacks on the lives of persons were systematically investigated and that vigorous action be taken to end intimidation and threats by clandestine groups. The Mission stressed that its mandate did not give it the power to verify the armed conflict as such. It must, however, take into account the fundamental guarantees of humane treatment for all persons not directly participating or no longer participating in hostilities.

ONUSAL said it had observed an effort by parties to respect commitments agreed to at San José.

The Secretary-General's report characterized as positive the FMLN decision to cease offensive operations unilaterally on 16 November and President Cristiani's favourable response. It said armed confrontation appeared to have dwindled considerably since then.

As for the peace process in Guatemala, some progress was reported since the signing on 25 July at Querétaro, Mexico, of a framework agreement on democratization by the Government and URNG. The Conciliator, Monsignor Rodolfo Quezada Toruño, and the Secretary-General's Representative, Francesc Vendrell, acting as observer, were engaged in narrowing differences between the two parties.

UN: 'Major, unprecedented' role

Peace treaty to end Cambodian conflict signed in Paris; Cease-fire agreement in effect

A peace treaty to end the 13-year conflict in Cambodia and prepare that South-East Asian nation for elections was signed in Paris on 23 October. Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar in a note *(S/23179)* to the Security Council on 30 October described four major documents adopted by the Paris Conference on Cambodia (PCC). These included: the Conference's Final Act; an agreement on a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian conflict, with annexes on the mandate for the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), military matters, elections, repatriation of Cambodian refugees and displaced persons, and the principles of a new Cambodian constitution; an agreement concerning the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and inviolability, neutrality and national unity of Cambodia; and a declaration on the rehabilitation and reconstruction of that country.

REUTERS/BETTMAN

Meeting in Paris on 23 October 1991.

In the Final Act, States that participated in the Conference—Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Canada, China, France, India, Indonesia, Japan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, USSR, United Kingdom, United States and Viet Nam—committed themselves to promote and encourage respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Cambodia.

They asked the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to facilitate the release of prisoners of war and civilian internees and expressed their readiness to assist the ICRC in that task. The international community was urged to provide generous economic and financial support to assist Cambodia in rehabilitation and reconstruction tasks.

In unanimously adopting resolution 718 (1991) on 31 October, the Council called on all Cambodian parties to comply fully with the new cease-fire arrangements and asked the Secretary-General to submit his implementation plan, including a detailed cost estimate of UNTAC. It also called on the Supreme National Council (SNC) of Cambodia and all Cambodians to cooperate fully with the UN in implementing the Paris agreements.

The Council also welcomed the Secretary-General's intention to send a survey mission to Cambodia as soon as possible.

The UN Advance Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC) had been established by the Council on 16 October in its adoption of resolution 717 (1991). The Mission became operational shortly after the signing of the Paris agreements and would exist until it is absorbed into UNTAC. UNAMIC is to assist in maintaining the cease-fire, facilitate communications between the military headquarters of the four Cambodian parties, train civilian populations on how to avoid injury from mines or booby traps and ensure liaison between the Secretary-General and the SNC.

UN Photo 178322/J. Isaac

SNC President Sihanouk *(left)* with other Cambodian leaders.

'Turning a new page'

The Secretary-General signed the Final Act of the PCC, which had been called again into session by its Co-Chairmen—French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas and Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas.

In addressing the Conference, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar recalled that French President François Mitterrand had proposed convening the Conference in July 1989. In cooperation with Indonesia, France had invited the UN to join in a project, "which seemed somewhat ambitious at the time", he said, of achieving a negotiated solution to the question of Cambodia and, thus, "putting an end to the suffering imposed on the Cambodian people during two decades of war and destruction".

The settlement, he went on, should make it possible to "turn a new page" in Cambodia's history and encourage the advent of an era of peace, stability and cooperation in South-East Asia. Cambodians had accelerated the negotiation process by recognizing that the military option had led them to an impasse and had worked towards national reconciliation "based on reciprocal concessions and constructive, responsible dialogue".

The UN, the Secretary-General said, had been assigned a "major and unprecedented" role. He expected UNTAC to be "the biggest and most complex" operation in UN history.

UNTAC would supervise the cease-fire and the cessation of outside military assistance and verify the withdrawal of foreign forces, be responsible for the regroupment and cantonment of all armed forces of the Cambodian parties and ensure a 70 per cent level of disarmament and demobilization. It would also help to detect and clear minefields, which represented a daily danger for the civilian population and a barrier to resumption of all normal economic activity.

Neutral political environment

The UN would also be responsible for controlling or supervising, in varying degrees, the activities of the existing administrative structures, including the police, and for ensuring promotion of and respect for human rights, so that the Cambodian people would not "again be exposed to the grave abuses of the past", the Secretary-General told the Conference. The primary goal was to encourage a neutral political environment in which Cambodians could freely determine their future within the framework of democratic elections organized and conducted by the UN.

Repatriated refugees and displaced persons should vote in the elections. The repatriation process was a parallel measure to launch a UN programme to rehabilitate and reconstruct Cambodia.

The effectiveness and ultimately the success of UN intervention were closely dependent on the full and complete cooperation of all the parties concerned, he said.

Once peace had been achieved, it must be made a lasting peace, he stressed. The SNC would play a key role in that respect. During the transitional period, the SNC, in which Cambodia's sovereignty would be embodied, would be the symbol of national reconciliation, based on the higher interest of Cambodia and its people.

However, peace could remain ephemeral if the Cambodian people and some of its immediate neighbours continued to live in destitution and poverty, the Secretary-General observed. "Achieving peace is an ongoing battle", he concluded.

'Historic occasion'

In adopting resolution 46/18 without a vote on 20 November, the General Assembly fully supported the Paris Agreements which would maintain, preserve and guarantee Cambodia's sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and inviolability, neutrality and national unity. All parties concerned were urged to implement fully the Accords, in close cooperation with UNTAC.

The Assembly also called upon the relevant parties to ensure respect for and full observance of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the Cambodian people and assist them in exercising their right to self-determination.

Assembly President Samir S. Shihabi of Saudi Arabia said the consensus text marked "an historic occasion for the people of Cambodia".

On 7 November, the Secretary-General reported *(A/46/617)* that the transitional period in Cambodia would continue until the new Cambodian government was formed, in accordance with the settlement agreement.

While it was gratifying that the UN had been given wide-ranging responsibilities for implementing the Accords, substantial human and financial resources would be needed and innovative procedures would have to be devised to complete such tasks.

Also, intensified military activity in western Cambodia during the first part of 1991 had resulted in renewed movements of large numbers of people across the Thai/Cambodian border to UN Border Relief Operation camps in Thailand. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees would carry out repatriation measures. Until then, those refugees should not be moved back to Cambodia prematurely.

UNAMIC begins operations

On 9 November, UNAMIC, with headquarters in Phnom Penh, officially began operations. An advance team of some 268 persons was to be deployed by year's end.

Among States contributing military personnel to the Mission were: Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, France, Germany, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Malaysia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Poland, Senegal, Tunisia, USSR, United Kingdom, United States and Uruguay.

A. H. S. Ataul Karim of Bangladesh was named UNAMIC Head and Chief Liaison Officer. He had served as his country's Ambassador to the United States and to the UN. Brigadier-General Michel Loridon of France was its Senior Military Liaison Officer.

The General Assembly on 20 December approved $14,319,200 for the UNAMIC operation from 1 November 1991 to 30 April 1992.

On 30 December, the Secretary-General recommended *(S/23331)* to the Security Council that UNAMIC also provide training in mine clearance. Concurrently, a de-mining programme would be initiated urgently in northwest Cambodia to take maximum advantage of the dry season. Roads and bridges would also be repaired.

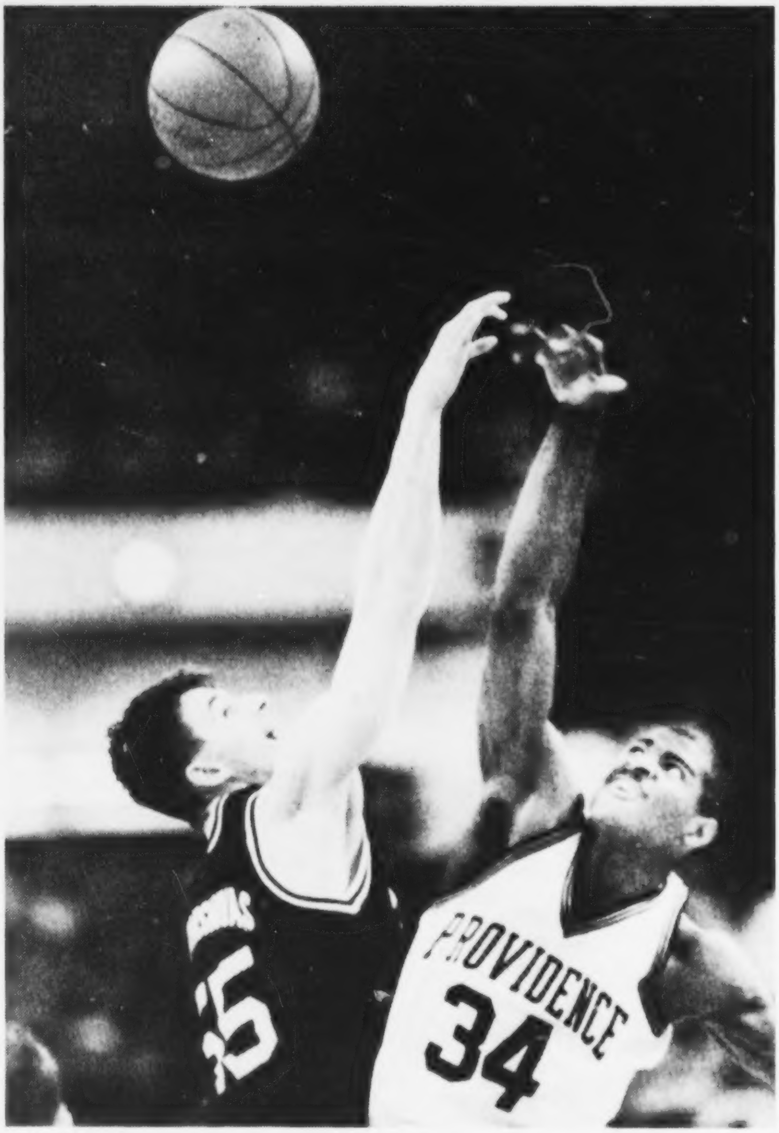
In a 28 December statement *(A/47/63-S/23335)* issued in New York, the Council's five permanent members appealed to all Cambodian parties to contribute to the development of the process of national reconciliation and the maintenance of peace by strictly respecting all agreements, including those related to assuring all necessary conditions for the normal functioning of the SNC in Phnom Penh.

1992 Janet Gardner

Cambodians: Looking towards peace.

Progress towards democratic order in South Africa acknowledged

Call for resumed academic, scientific, cultural, sports links



AP/Wide World Photo

Sports in an integrated setting is to be resumed.

The General Assembly on 13 December acknowledged progress made in overcoming obstacles to negotiations towards a new constitution and arrangements on the transition to a democratic order in South Africa, and welcomed the signing of the 14 September National Peace Accord.

In view of that progress, the international community was called upon to resume academic, scientific and cultural links with democratic anti-apartheid organizations and individuals in those fields, resume sports links with unified non-racial sporting organizations of South Africa, which had received endorsement by appropriate non-racial sporting organizations within South Africa, and assist disadvantaged athletes in that country.

The international community was further called upon, "within the context of the need to respond appropriately to ongoing developments in South Africa", to review "existing restrictive measures as warranted by positive developments, such as agreement by the parties on transitional arrangements, and agreement on a new, non-racial democratic constitution".

In adopting seven resolutions aimed at eradicating apartheid *(resolutions 46/79 A to F; 46/80)*, the Assembly called for an immediate end to violence and the removal of any remaining obstacles to free political activity. South Africa was urged to take immediate further action to end the recurring violence and "acts of terrorism, including actions by those opposed to the democratic transformation of the country, by ensuring that all competent authorities act effectively and impartially''.

Implement Accord

Signatories of the National Peace Accord were called upon to fully implement its provisions.

The Accord was concluded on 14 September among the South African Government, the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party. The document envisages codes of conduct, both for the security forces and for political parties and organizations, allows for mechanisms to implement and enforce Accord provisions, and proposes measures to facilitate socio-economic reconstruction and development in areas devastated by violence.

Pretoria was also called upon by the Assembly to release immediately any remaining political prisoners, facilitate the return of refugees and exiles, and repeal ''repressive and discriminatory'' legislation still in place.

Representatives of the people of South Africa were called upon to commence urgently, in good faith, broad-based substantive negotiations towards an agreement on the basic principles of a new constitution, on transitional arrangements inspiring general confidence in the administration of the country until the new constitution had taken effect, and on the role to be played by the international community in ensuring the successful transition to a democratic order.

In other action, Governments were called upon to observe fully the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

Mandela: 'Continued pressure needed'

ANC President Nelson Mandela, addressing the Assembly on 3 December, said that continued international pressure was necessary to encourage speedy movement towards ending apartheid. South Africa had not yet been liberated and it must continue to ''pursue the struggle until freedom is won''.

Sanctions should be lifted in phases that corresponded to actual progress being made within South Africa, he said. Two major phases would be the establishment of an interim government and the election of a new government based on a democratic constitution. The UN should ''heed the voice of the oppressed'' by handling sanctions in that manner.

He said the new South Africa would have to address the question of mass poverty which afflicted millions of South Africans, especially the black population. Another urgent question was the gross racial imbalance in the distribution of income, wealth, land and opportunity. The desired political settlement could not survive for long if those questions were not addressed.

At a press conference, Mr. Mandela said the questions of the arms and oil embargoes and nuclear cooperation should be dealt with by a new government after adoption of a democratic constitution.

Diplomatic sanctions, restrictions on loans and financial sanctions should be lifted when an interim government was in place.

Botha replies

On 13 December, South African Foreign Minister R. F. Botha said *(A/46/777)* it was encouraging that the UN was ''at last recognizing important political developments in South Africa''.

On 29 November, Mr. Botha informed *(A/46/711)* the Secretary-General that his Government did not accept the premise that pressure, including so-called positive pressure, was required. Punitive sanctions affected all the people, especially the poor. The continued isolation of South Africa was ''particularly inappropriate'' in the light of ''real, profound and irreversible changes'' there.

Two plans on Iraqi disarmament adopted by Security Council

Special Commission cites lack of candour, cooperation on Iraq's part

UN Photo 158690/H. Arvidsson

International inspection team at the Muhammadiyat Storage site, after verifying in October 1991 the destruction of a munitions warehouse.

During the last three months of 1991—more than half a year after the UN Security Council instituted a cease-fire in the Persian Gulf conflict, ending Iraq's occupation of Kuwait—the 15-member Council continued to deal with what international inspection teams called a lack of candour and cooperation on the part of Iraq. Among other things, the Council received reports from its Special Commission on Iraqi disarmament that there were "persistent concealment efforts" by Iraq regarding its nuclear-weapons programme and that it had "conclusive evidence" that Iraq was engaged in an "advanced military biological research programme".

Future inspections had to be "energetic, rigorous and intensive", the Special Commission stated, because of Iraq's failure, particularly in the nuclear field, to adopt a "candid and open" approach towards disclosing its capabilities, as called for in the historic, nine-part cease-fire resolution 687 (1991).

On 11 October, the Council approved two new plans to better monitor and verify, in the future, Iraq's compliance with UN demands for disarmament measures, as specified in the cease-fire agreement. One plan was submitted by the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Special Commission; the other by the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

During consideration of the plans, Iraq, addressing the Council, warned other nations that their implementation might mean that they would be "next in line as potential victims" of the measures which embody, "in practical terms, a new type of occupation that, through a system of remote control, dominates every aspect of life in the target country".

During informal Council consultations on 23 October, Special Commission Chairman Rolf Ekeus said that Iraq could ask for exceptions to be made, under a certain provision of resolution 687, allowing Iraq to keep the buildings and equipment, linked to the conduct of programmes for weapons of mass destruction, for genuinely civil purposes.

On 4 December, Chairman Ekeus reported that Iraq's attitude towards inspections had not changed to one of candour, transparency and cooperation at all levels.

The Special Commission had had to remain vigilant to prevent implementation of measures proposed by Iraq, which could impinge upon facilities, privileges and immunities of the Commission and the IAEA in matters such as the taking into and out of Iraq of all necessary equipment, materials and other items required for inspections and analysis of their results, and the taking of photographs at sites under inspection.

Mr. Ekeus maintained that for the Commission and the IAEA to carry out their ongoing monitoring and verification tasks, Iraq must recognize its obligations under the two new monitoring schemes and resolution 715 (1991), something it had not yet done.

Results could only be achieved where resolute stands were taken in response to challenges by Iraq to the implementation of various aspects of the mandate of the Special Commission and the IAEA, he said.

Between 7 October and the end of December, seven more international inspections, many involving unannounced visits to various sites, took place: two in the nuclear field, one combined chemical/biological inspection, two separate chemical inspections and two on ballistic missiles.

Resolution 715

In unanimously adopting resolution 715 (1991), the Council demanded that Iraq meet unconditionally all its obligations under the two plans and cooperate fully with the Special Commission and the IAEA Director General in carrying them out.

The Special Commission would carry out the plan submitted by the Secretary-General, as well as continue to discharge its other responsibilities under resolutions 687 (1991), adopted on 3 April, 699 (1991) of 17 June and 707 (1991), adopted on 15 August. It would also perform such other functions as were conferred upon it under resolution 715.

The IAEA Director General was asked to carry out, with the Special Commission's assistance, the plan submitted by him and to continue to discharge his other responsibilities under resolutions 687, 699 and 707.

UN Photo 177915/E. Debebe

Chairman Ekeus

The Council also decided that the Special Commission, as a subsidiary organ of the Council, should continue to designate additional locations for inspection and overflights and provide the IAEA Director General with special expertise and logistical, informational and other operational support.

Under resolution 715, maximum assistance, in cash and in kind, was asked from all Member States to support the implementation of the plans, without prejudice to Iraq's liability for the full costs of such activities.

The Sanctions Committee—established under resolution 661 (1990)—the Special Commission and the IAEA Director General were to develop a mechanism for monitoring future sales or supplies by other countries to Iraq of items relevant to the implementation of resolution 687 and other relevant resolutions, including resolution 715 and the two plans.

The Security Council in October and again in December decided that the sanctions regime against Iraq should continue. Council members agreed, after consultations, that the necessary conditions to modify the sanctions had not been met.

Terms of 687, 699, 707

In resolution 687, the terms for a formal cease-fire in the Gulf conflict were set out, including provisions calling on Iraq "unconditionally not to acquire or develop nuclear weapons or nuclear-weapons-usable material or any subsystems, components or any research, development, support or manufacturing facilities".

Iraq was to declare all locations, amounts and types of such items; place all nuclear-weapons-usable materials for custody and removal under the "exclusive control" of the IAEA; and accept "urgent on-site inspection" and "destruction, removal or rendering harmless" of all such items.

The IAEA, assisted by the Special Commission, was to carry out "immediate on-site inspection" of the nuclear capabilities based on Iraq's declarations, as well as additional locations designated by the Special Commission. A plan was to be developed regarding destruction, removal or rendering harmless, as appropriate, of all items specified.

Resolution 687 made similar provision for Iraq's chemical and biological weapons and facilities, and for long-range ballistic missiles.

In resolution 699, the Council decided that the full cost of the destruction of proscribed weapons within Iraq, as outlined in resolution 687, should be borne by Iraq. The Secretary-General was to recommend the most effective means by which Iraq might meet those obligations. Maximum assistance, in cash and in kind, was asked from all Member States to ensure fast and effective destruction of those weapons.

In resolution 707, the Council had demanded that Iraq comply with the disarmament measures, specifying nine immediate orders, among others, that Iraq:

- Disclose fully "all aspects of its programmes to develop weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles with a range greater than 150 kilometres";
- Allow "immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access to any and all areas, facilities, equipment, records and means of transportation" to the Special Commission, the IAEA and their inspection teams; and
- Cease immediately "any attempt to conceal, or any movement or destruction of any material or equipment relating to its nuclear, chemical or biological weapons or ballistic missiles programmes ... without notification to and prior consent of the Special Commission".

Secretary-General's plan

The Secretary-General's Plan was contained in his 2 October report *(S/22871/Rev.1)* to the Council. He recalled that resolution 687 provided for a three-stage implementation procedure: gathering and assessment of information; disposal of weapons and facilities; and ongoing monitoring and verification of Iraq's compliance.

The first two stages were being implemented and would continue until their objectives were fully achieved, he said. The Plan addressed the third stage—ongoing monitoring and verification of Iraq's compliance with its unconditional obligation not to use, retain, possess, develop, construct or otherwise acquire any weapons or related items prohibited by resolution 687.

Monitoring and verification must cover not only military but also civilian sites, facilities, material and other items that could be used or activities that could be involved in contravention of Iraq's obligations.

If the Plan entered into force directly upon approval by the Council, that would prevent Iraq, at an early stage, from developing new capabilities regarding the relevant weapons categories, thus closing a potential loophole during the first stages of implementation, the Secretary-General noted.

Monitoring and verification should be entrusted to a compliance unit organized under the Special Commission.

Since it could not be excluded that the Council in the future might wish to review the present sanctions against Iraq regarding items of dual use—items that could be used for prohibited, as well as non-prohibited purposes—the Plan included specific provisions for the monitoring and verification from within Iraq of any eventual import of relevant items with dual use.

According to the Plan, Iraq would be obliged to provide the Special Commission regularly with complete, correct and timely information on activities, sites, facilities, material or other items, both military and civilian, that might be used for purposes banned under resolution 687.

The Special Commission would have the right to inspect, at any time and without hindrance, any site, facility, activity, material or other item in Iraq. Unannounced inspections and inspections at short

Environment and war— The ugly consequences

The nature and extent of the environmental damage suffered by Kuwait as a result of the Persian Gulf war have been profound. Damaged oil wells were either torched or left to spew their contents, creating thick black oil "lakes" covering thousands of square miles of Kuwaiti territory. This is just one example of environmental deterioration over which the forty-sixth General Assembly, in its resolution 46/216, expressed profound concern especially regarding the threat posed to the health and well-being of the people of the region and the adverse impact on the economic activities of Kuwait and other countries in the area. Acknowledging the fact that dealing with the catastrophe went beyond the capabilities of the countries of the region, the Assembly on 20 December urgently appealed to all Member States, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, scientific bodies and individuals to assist in the study and mitigation of the environmental consequences of the Gulf war.

Speakers in the Sixth Committee (Legal), which considered the new agenda item on the exploitation of the environment as a weapon in times of armed conflict, said the environmental devastations resulting from the recent Gulf conflict warranted consideration of an appropriate new legal instrument.

UN Photo 158669/H. Arvidsson

Excavating a bunker-like warehouse at Al Hakam.

notice were to be conducted, and any number of declared or designated sites or facilities could be inspected simultaneously or sequentially.

The Special Commission could designate for aerial overflight any area, location, site or facility in Iraq and conduct, at any time and without hindrance, both fixed-wing and rotary-wing flights throughout Iraq for all relevant purposes. It could also make full use of its own aircraft with appropriate sensors as necessary, and such airfields as it might determine were most appropriate for its work.

Iraq would be required to accept unconditionally the inspection of any site, facility, activity, material or other item declared by it or designated by the Special Commission; accept unconditionally aerial overflight of any area, location, site or facility designated by the Special Commission; and refrain from obstructing aerial overflights or taking concealment measures.

Under a section on "national implementation measures", Iraq would prohibit all natural and legal persons under Iraq's jurisdiction or control from undertaking anywhere any activity prohibited by resolutions 687 and 707, by any other related Council resolutions or by the Plan. Iraq would have to enact penal legislation which would extend to such activity undertaken anywhere by any such natural or legal persons.

Iraq would also have to inform the Special Commission of legislative and administrative measures taken to implement those resolutions and the Plan.

IAEA plan

The IAEA plan was transmitted to the Council in a 20 September note *(S/22872/Rev.1)* by the Secretary-General. It stated that Iraq's obligations under paragraph 12 of resolution 687 and paragraph 3 of resolution 707 were broader in scope than the obligations undertaken under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and were verified by the IAEA. As a result, the scope and intensity of verification and monitoring under the plan were much greater, in order to create confidence that the restrictions on Iraq in the nuclear field were complied with. Meanwhile, the IAEA safeguards agreement with Iraq would continue to be in force.

The plan sets out in detail the obligations of Iraq and "other States", as well as the rights of the IAEA. Iraq was required to accept unconditionally all of the Agency's rights enumerated in the plan and to take all measures to facilitate the full exercise by the IAEA of its rights under the plan. For example, Iraq must provide the Agency with inventories of all nuclear materials in Iraq, all nuclear facilities, installations and sites, and all isotopes used for medical, agricultural or industrial applications.

Complete design information for any planned nuclear facility had to be provided 180 days before the start of construction and advance information must be given on proposed imports and exports of any nuclear materials and isotopes.

Under the plan, States would be barred from supplying to Iraq any other material, equipment, facilities or training which were designed or prepared for use in nuclear activities, except as related to the use of isotopes for medical, agricultural and industrial activities. Procedures for providing full and complete reports to the Agency by States were included in the plan.

As specified in the plan, the IAEA has the right to: carry out inspections at any time and without hindrance; inspect any number of sites, materials or items simultaneously or sequentially; secure any site, facility, activity or material, and stop and inspect vehicles, ships or any other transport aircraft within Iraq; and examine, copy and remove any record, data and information and install surveillance equipment. The Agency would also have unrestricted freedom of entry into and exit from Iraq and unrestricted freedom to move within Iraq without advance notice.

Should the IAEA discover any item, including documentation, that Iraq under Council resolutions 687 and 707 was obliged to yield to the

Agency for destruction, removal, or rendering harmless, the IAEA would have the right to take it into custody. Iraq would retain no ownership interest in such an item. Findings by the Agency that Iraq was not in compliance with its obligations under the two resolutions, the plan or under the safeguards agreement would be brought to the Council's attention.

Iraq a hostage?

In debate, Iraq suggested that "the title of the political ruler or the High Commissioner as in the old days of colonial rule" should be conferred upon the Chairman of the Special Commission. It charged that the Council had not adhered to its own resolutions, as it had transformed resolution 687 "into a document that makes the Iraqi Government and people hostage of one or two States with veto power in the Council".

Resolution 715, which it said far exceeded other Council resolutions and Charter provisions, aimed "to put Iraq under the permanent trusteeship of the Special Commission . . . and to maintain the trade sanctions system indefinitely", contrary to resolution 687, Iraq said. Resolution 715 also sought to establish "permanent international mechanisms to tighten control on Iraq's future".

According to Iraq, the Secretary-General's plan gave the Special Commission and all those authorized by it unrestricted, permanent and absolute police, political and executive powers. It was "unique in its deliberate complexity and scattering of intertwined provisions in a manner that would make it extremely difficult to implement, while it makes it easy to claim that its provisions are being contravened".

The plan aimed "explicitly at denying Iraq the capacity to conduct scientific, biological and chemical research". It "omits no detail affecting civil or military life. All those aspects, together with all Iraqi scientific institutions and educational institutes, are placed under tight control and severe restrictions in an absolutist and arbitrary fashion".

The plan's main thrust "is not to destroy Iraq's weapons of mass destruction but to deprive Iraq of its industrial and scientific infrastructure" and to project an image of Iraq as a State that did not cooperate with the UN or that tried to exceed its international obligations, "in order to tighten further the economic, scientific and political siege" imposed on Iraq.

Memorandum extended

The Memorandum of Understanding providing for UN humanitarian operation in Iraq, signed in Baghdad on 18 April, has been extended until 30 June 1992.

The Secretary-General's Executive Delegate for the UN Inter-Agency Humanitarian Programme for Iraq, Kuwait and the Iraq/Iran and Iraq/Turkey border areas, Sadruddin Aga Khan, reported the agreement in Geneva on 26 November.

Hiding the nukes?

Also, in Council debate, the United States said Iraq had continued to hide parts of its nuclear, chemical, biological and missile programmes. There was "indisputable evidence" that Iraq was seeking to build nuclear weapons and had misused and abused its peaceful-nuclear facilities. The United States hoped and expected that Iraq would abide by resolution 715.

The United Kingdom said the resolution was "stringent because of the long chapter of evasions, concealment and trickery that Iraq has employed to avoid revealing what it was required to reveal" under resolution 687. Iraq seemed determined to preserve and continue the programmes for producing weapons of mass destruction which the Council had interdicted.

France said the Council's plan for future monitoring and verification was "the only way to ensure that Iraq will no longer be able to pursue its plans, especially those to acquire nuclear armaments". It hoped that Iraq would understand that it was in Iraq's interests to comply "without reservations".

Special Commission reports

The Special Commission, at a session in New York (21-23 October), considered a report *(S/23165)*, the first comprehensive account of its work undertaken to implement section C of resolution 687 and subsequent related resolutions. (Section C relates to the elimination of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction and the means of their production, as well as ensuring that the acquisition of such weapons was not resumed.)

Through rigorous and intensive inspections by the Special Commission in the chemical, biological and ballistic missile fields, and by the IAEA and the Special Commission in the nuclear field, it had been possible to compile sufficient information to have a general picture of Iraq's capabilities and facilities in all the areas concerned. However, some important lacunae remained; filling them would be pursued energetically, the report stated.

While conclusive evidence of an advanced military biological research programme had been collected, no evidence of actual weaponization had been found. But inspections had provided a sound database for future monitoring of biological capabilities in Iraq.

In the field of ballistic missiles—those with a range greater than 150 kilometres—the Special Commission inspection teams had supervised the destruction of 62 ballistic missiles, 18 fixed SCUD missile launch pads, 10 launchers, 11 decoy missiles, 32 ballistic missile warheads, 127 missile storage support vehicles, a substantial amount of rocket fuel, an assembled 350 millimetre supergun, components for 350 and 1,000 millimetre superguns and 1 tonne of supergun propellant. Inspectors had also confirmed the destruction by coalition bombing of several missile repair and production facilities.

Totally different attitude

While cooperation from Iraq had generally been forthcoming at the field level—most notably in the chemical and, to a degree, in the biological areas—in relation to declared activities and resources, the Special Commission reported that a totally different attitude of "non-cooperation, concealment and sometimes false information" had emerged with regard to non-declared activities, resources and sites in the nuclear area.

A change in Iraq's attitude to one of candour, transparency and cooperation at all levels was probably the one single element that could contribute most substantially to a timely and satisfactory implementation of the mandate of the Special Commission and the IAEA.

The success of the Special Commission in carrying out its unique task depended on three factors of crucial importance: full political support of the Security Council; support of Governments; and support of the Secretary-General.

On 4 December, Special Commission Chairman Ekeus reported *(S/23268)* that Iraq had for the first time formally acknowledged its nuclear-weapons programme, stating: "Various research and studies of the sort to which you refer as 'weaponization' have been carried out. The objective . . . was to establish the practical, technical and scientific requirements for a programme of this nature in the event that a political decision were to be taken to proceed in that direction."

Iraq replies

In a 25 October letter *(S/23168)* to the Secretary-General, Iraq stated that it knew the "dangers arising from transforming an Arab State and bringing it to the nuclear-weapon-manufacturing stage. We know that this is not permitted for Arabs."

Iraq also stated it had done much research in the area of science and technology, "but knowledge is one thing and going beyond knowledge to the stage of weapon-building is another". Following the great rise in oil prices in the mid-1970s, Iraq had become a rich State, directing its wealth and financial surplus to research and construction of an advanced scientific and technological base "that would contribute to the building of our country and raise the standard of living for our people".

Instead of "spending our money on buying palaces, yachts and other luxuries", Iraq had spent it on an industrial base and on advanced infrastructures for the future, "not on building up a nuclear industry", it claimed. Those efforts had "borne fruit in the restoration of the bridges, refineries, electric power plants and communications centres destroyed by the aggression".

Nuclear inspections

The seventh and eighth in a series of inspections of Iraq's nuclear capabilities took place from 11 to 22 October and from 11 to 18 November. Six previous inspections had taken place between 14 May and 30 September.

These teams visited designated facilities associated with testing and development of the high-explosive components of the implosion system of a nuclear weapon. The characteristics of those facilities were considered inconsistent with Iraq's explanations of their purpose.

Thus, it was reported, Iraq's position that it had conducted studies but had no programme to

UN Photo 178728/M. Grant

Members of UN inspection teams.

develop nuclear weapons was inconsistent with both documents and inspection results that revealed a well-funded and broadly based programme involving sophisticated facilities for nuclear-weapons development.

In the area of fissile material production, important questions put to Iraq remained unanswered.

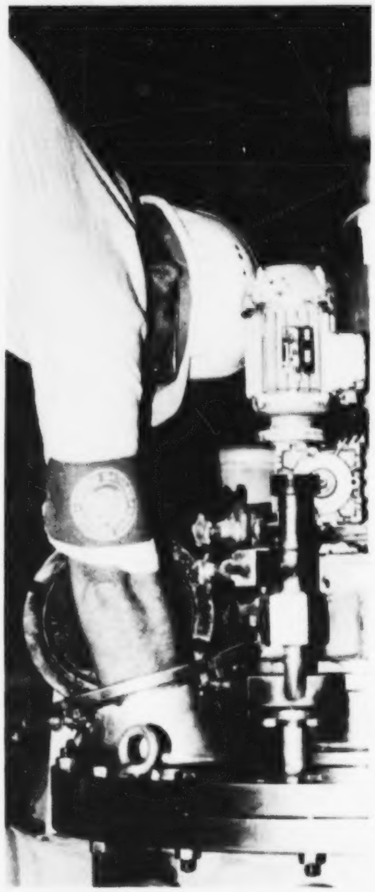
"Iraq's recent record in the nuclear area was consistent with, if less dramatic than, its actions over the last six months that included the concealment of evidence" which had been made by Iraq and, in view of Iraq's lack of full cooperation and its persistent concealment efforts, a complete disclosure of its nuclear-weapons programme had yet to be made, the team concluded.

Procurement continues

The IAEA announced on 11 December that the seventh and eighth nuclear inspections had determined that the Iraqi Atomic Energy Commission had, in support of its uranium enrichment and planned weaponization efforts, established a large, secure and highly successful procurement network.

Among the procurement strategies employed were: use of other Iraqi establishments as buyers and contractors; placing of orders for equipment directly with manufacturers or indirectly through foreign intermediaries; and use of indigenous capabilities to complete the manufacture of some items.

Iraqi authorities had gone to great lengths to prevent the discovery of procurement data. Most procurement-related information had been removed and presumably destroyed, the eighth team reported. Even so, current examination of data collected had firmly identified the manufacturers of most equipment used or intended for use in Iraqi efforts to establish a centrifuge production and operation capability.



UN Photo 158687/H. Arvidsson

Taking samples from a chemical fermenter.

While much of the equipment was multi-purpose in the sense of being useful in a number of manufacturing processes, the presence of application-specific fixtures removed most doubt as to the intended use. Identification of the manufacturer did not necessarily mean identification of the supplier—intermediaries were often used.

Nuclear weapons

On 8 October, IAEA Director-General Hans Blix confirmed that the sixth nuclear inspection team, in Iraq from 22 to 30 September, had uncovered documents which contained conclusive evidence that Iraq was "well-advanced in the production of a nuclear weapon".

Inspectors had discovered active plans for the production of Lithium 6—a substance used to produce hydrogen bombs. The IAEA team, which had uncovered some 45,000 pages of documents on Iraq's nuclear development programme, had been detained for four days in a Baghdad parking lot in September. *(See* UN Chronicle, *December 1991, No. 4 issue.)*

In reporting to the General Assembly on 21 October, Mr. Blix called the IAEA tasks with regard to Iraq "much larger, complex and dramatic than first expected".

Although Iraq was a party to the NPT and had pledged not to develop or acquire any nuclear weapons, it had not respected those pledges, he said.

The UN/IAEA inspection missions, Mr. Blix stated, had disclosed vast undeclared and unknown programmes in the billion dollar range for the enrichment of uranium, as well as documentary evidence of an advanced nuclear-weapons development programme. Although Iraq had asserted that no political decision had been taken to make a nuclear bomb, the scientific and technical programme for weapons development had been confirmed.

On 15 November, the IAEA announced that the first shipment of highly enriched uranium had left Iraq, in compliance with resolution 687.

Chemical/biological team

The Special Commission announced on 11 December that the first combined chemical- and biological-weapons inspection team had visited Iraq from 18 November to 1 December looking for evidence of undeclared weapons activity. The team of 18 experts from 11 nations, led by Major Karen Jansen of the United States, inspected 16 sites throughout Iraq.

The mission was considered unique in that all designations were undeclared sites and it concentrated on possible chemical or biological weapons' storage sites, such as airfield bunkers and ammunition depots. All inspections were carried out without advance notice. UN helicopters were used to transport team members and conduct aerial reconnaissance.

The mission discovered equipment from a bomb-casing workshop at a sugar factory 350 kilometres north of Baghdad. The items, the mission stated, were clearly intended for the manufacture of aerial bombs to deliver chemical warfare agents.

Three undeclared SCUD transporter carriers, which had apparently been discarded and overlooked, were discovered and were to be destroyed, the mission stated.

Chemical teams

The fifth and sixth in a series of inspections of Iraq's chemical capabilities took place from 7 October to 8 November and from 22 October to 2 November. Four previous inspections were undertaken between 9 June and 5 September.

On 4 December, Chairman Ekeus reported *(S/23268)* that the fifth team had inspected the Al Muthanna State Establishment, while the sixth team visited a series of declared chemical munitions storage sites. The technically successful inspection of Al Muthanna resulted in a comprehensive and detailed inventory of the site, including facilities, munitions, agents, agent condition, precursors and intermediates.

The Special Commission reported that, in the very near future, it would have a very good understanding of Iraq's declared major primary chemical weapons site. Discussions on destruction of chemical weapons and agents had resulted in considerably improved technical understanding by both sides, particularly as regards the potential hazards of some operations and the technologies for implementing destruction processes. Commencement of the destruction process early in 1992 could thus be confidently expected, it stated.

Ballistic missiles

The fifth and sixth in a series of inspections of Iraq's ballistic missile capabilities were carried out from 1 to 14 October and from 1 to 9 December. Four previous inspections took place between 30 June and 12 September.

The fifth mission travelled to western Iraq to inspect and destroy fixed missile launch sites. All warheads, except for some chemical ones, had already been destroyed, along with the missiles themselves.

The team returned to Baghdad to oversee the destruction of the so-called 1,000 millimetre "super-gun". A smaller version (350 millimetres), which had been tested by the Iraqis, was installed at a site in the Jabal Hamrin mountains north of Baghdad. The components for a larger (1,000 millimetres) untested version were located at a site south of the capital. Both would be destroyed, a UN official stated.

The sixth inspection mission verified the destruction of fixed launch sites of ballistic missiles, as well as of components of the so-called "super-gun". Inspectors also verified the destruction of several other fixed launch sites.

Other actions

The Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission, at a fourth session (New York, 7-15 October), approved a final plan for surveying and mapping the border area. The first stage of control surveying was completed in November with the assistance of the UN Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM). A specially outfitted aircraft for aerial photography was employed for this purpose. Maps for actual demarcation of the boundary were expected to be ready in early 1992.

On 7 October, the Security Council agreed that UNIKOM be maintained in the area for a further six-month period, until 9 April 1992. The Mission was established by the Council on 9 April to monitor the Iraq-Kuwait border.

The Secretary-General reported that the demilitarized zone patrolled by the mission had been generally respected during the first six months of operation and that the area had been calm.

UN Photo 156837

UN inspectors measuring the volume of nerve agent in container.

'Historic' meeting

Assembly welcomes Middle East Conference

REUTERS/BETTMAN

Middle East negotiations opened on 30 October at Madrid's Royal Palace.

The General Assembly has welcomed the convening, under the co-sponsorship of the Soviet Union and the United States, of the peace conference on the Middle East in Madrid on 30 October, terming it "a significant step towards the establishment of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the region".

It also stated that the convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, under UN auspices, with the participation of all parties to the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), on an equal footing, and the five permanent Security Council members, based on Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the legitimate national rights of Palestinians, primarily the right to self-determination, would contribute to the promotion of peace in the region.

The Assembly, after separate debates, adopted a total of seven resolutions on the Middle East and the question of Palestine on 11 and 16 December.

On 15 November, the Secretary-General reported *(A/46/652-S/23225)* that although the Madrid peace conference was being conducted outside the UN framework, that process had the support of the parties concerned and had as its basis Council resolutions 242 and 338. He hoped the momentum generated by the Madrid meetings would be sustained and that lasting peace that had so long been denied to all the peoples of the Middle East would become a reality.

The Secretary-General said that, following the Madrid conference, prospects for progress in the peace process had been enhanced.

Security Council President Aurel Dragos Munteanu of Romania called the meeting "a new beginning" and a new opportunity to establish a mechanism capable of building an enduring peace. Shafik Al-Hout, observer for Palestine, reading a statement from PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, said the new opening offered by the Madrid talks represented a historic opportunity that was not to be missed.

Edouard Brunner, the Secretary-General's Special Representative to the Middle East, was present as an observer at the conference.

In other resolutions, the Assembly asked *(46/76)* the Council to consider measures needed to provide international protection to Palestinian civilians in the occupied

Resolution 3379 (XXX): Rescinded !

Zionism no longer equated with racism

In a virtually unprecedented action, the General Assembly on 16 December repealed its 1975 resolution 3379 (XXX), by which it determined that "zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination".

By a simple but unconditional one-line resolution *(46/86)*, the Assembly decided "to revoke the determination contained in its resolution 3379 (XXX) of 10 November 1975". It was the second time in UN history that the world body had rescinded one of its own edicts.

The recorded vote was 111 to 25, with 13 abstentions. Before the vote, the Assembly had rejected Yemen's proposal that the rarely taken action should be considered an "important question", requiring a two-thirds vote under the UN Charter.

According to United States Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, prime in leading the campaign to repeal the text, the repeal consigned "one of the last relics of the Cold War to the dust-bin of history" and "could only help and not hinder efforts currently under way" to bring peace to the Middle East.

The revocation of resolution 3379, sponsored by more than half of the Organization's 166 Member States, had been urged by United States President George Bush in his speech to the Assembly on 23 September. The world body "must promote the cause of international harmony by addressing old feuds". The UN, he said, would thus "enhance its credibility and serve the cause of peace".

At a news conference after the vote, Israeli Foreign Minister David Levy said that "a terrible blot" had been removed from the UN record, signalling that the world community was "sobering up".

Before the vote, Khalil Makkawi of Lebanon, speaking on behalf of the Arab Group, asserted that the action would hamper the Middle East peace process, not only by whetting the appetite of Israeli extremists wishing to pursue their policy of "creeping annexation", but also by fuelling the passions of those Arabs who believed that the whole peace process was "an exercise in futility". He also warned that the revocation would set a dangerous precedent that could render other UN resolutions no longer morally or politically binding.

The only other reversal of a UN decision was in 1950, when the Assembly repealed a four-year-old resolution which had urged Member States to reduce links with Spain because of General Francisco Franco's support of Hitler during the Second World War.

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territories. It also reaffirmed *(46/82 A)* its conviction that the core of the conflict in the region was the question of Palestine. States were called upon not to provide Israel with any assistance, specifically in connection with the settlements in the occupied territories.

The Assembly determined *(46/82 B)* that Israel's decision to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration on Jerusalem was illegal and, therefore, had no validity whatsoever. It demanded that Israel abide scrupulously by the Fourth Geneva Convention and relevant UN resolutions.

In other action on the recommendation of its Special Political Committee, the Assembly adopted 11 resolutions specifically dealing with Palestine refugees, including a call for the guarantee of their legal and human rights, resettlement and housing, compensation for lost property, education and financing of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East. It also approved resolutions on Israeli practices affecting the human rights of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories, calling for assistance to those people.

In Second Committee (Economic and Financial) action, the Assembly adopted, by a vote of 125 to 2 (Israel, United States), with 9 abstentions, a resolution *(46/199)* on "adverse economic effects of Israeli settlements in the occupied Palestinian territory, including Jerusalem, and other Arab territories occupied since 1967". Also adopted, by a vote of 137 to 2 (Israel, United States), was a text *(46/201)* calling for increased assistance to the Palestinians and lifting of certain Israeli restrictions on such aid.

The Assembly on 16 December, in resolution 46/87, reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Palestinian people and all peoples under foreign occupation and colonial domination to self-determination, national independence, territorial integrity, national unity and sovereignty without foreign interference. The 29-paragraph text was adopted on the recommendation of the Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural). Israel was called on to refrain from the "constant deliberate violations of the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people". All States, specialized agencies and UN organizations were urged to support the Palestinian people through its "sole and legitimate representative", the PLO.

UNDOF mandate extended

The Security Council on 29 November extended the mandate of the UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) for a six-month period, until 31 May 1992. The Council acted unanimously in adopting resolution 722 (1991). UNDOF was created in 1974 to maintain and supervise the cease-fire in the Golan Heights area between Israel and the Syrian Arab Republic. The 1,330-member Force draws troops from Austria, Canada, Finland and Poland.

On 4 December, the Council noted with deep regret the death of a soldier of the Irish contingent of the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) in a clash with "*de facto* forces"—the 101st casualty suffered by UNIFIL.

Security Council members expressed deep concern over the heightened tension and hostilities in the UNIFIL area of operation in recent months and the resulting risks to UNIFIL staff and Lebanese civilian population.

The Secretary-General suggested that in order to reduce hostilities and prevent additional casualties, Israel should withdraw its personnel from the most affected positions, which would then be taken over by UNIFIL.

Further 'quiet diplomacy' of Secretary-General pays off with release of more hostages, prisoners

A final round of "quiet diplomacy" by UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar and his top aide, Giandomenico Picco, paid off handsomely with the release between October and December of six more Western hostages held in Lebanon and 40 Lebanese prisoners, and the return of the remains of a high-ranking UN official.

In August and September, three Western hostages held in Lebanon and 51 Lebanese prisoners held by Israel were released, as a result of efforts made by the UN and a number of Governments and others.

Jesse Turner, an American professor detained for almost five years, was released on 21 October. On the same day, Israel released 15 Lebanese detainees. Terry Waite, a British hostage since 20 January 1987, and Thomas Sutherland, an American kidnapped on 9 June 1985, were released on 18 November. Joseph Cicippio, another American missing since 12 September 1986, was released on 2 December. A day earlier, 25 Lebanese prisoners held by the "South Lebanon Army" were released.

UN Photo

Mr. Picco greeting Mr. Anderson.

Alann Steen, an American kidnapped on 24 January 1987, was released on 3 December. The next day, American Terry Anderson, kidnapped on 16 March 1985, was released. On 23 December, the body of Lieutenant-Colonel William Higgins, an American national, was handed over to the United States Embassy in Lebanon. He had been serving with the UN Interim Force in Lebanon at the time of his abduction on 17 February 1988. His captors had announced his execution on 31 July 1989.

In statements made between 21 October and 31 December, the Secretary-General thanked "the groups in Lebanon" for their cooperation in the release of the Western hostages and expressed appreciation for assistance received from Governments, especially those of Israel, Iran, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the Syrian Arab Republic.

On 27 December, the Secretary-General said he was still concerned about the fate of Alec Collett, a British journalist kidnapped in Lebanon on 25 March 1985 while on assignment for the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East.

Report delay for UN referendum in Western Sahara

UN Photo 9109-3207

UN observers' briefing at Parador Hotel in Western Sahara.

Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar on 19 December reported that there was likely to be a delay of some months before the "necessary conditions" were established for implementing the settlement plan for Western Sahara. The plan calls for the organization and supervision by the UN, in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity, of a referendum for self-determination of the Territory's people, who would choose between independence and integration with Morocco. The referendum was to have been held towards the end of January 1992.

In a report *(S/23299)* to the Security Council, the Secretary-General pointed out that progress had been slow in accomplishing certain tasks that were supposed to have been completed before the formal cease-fire came into effect on 6 September. That was largely due to the complexity of the identification process, which was to establish the list of those who would vote in the referendum.

Substantial areas of difference remained between Morocco and the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro (POLISARIO) on the settlement plan, the Secretary-General observed.

Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar also stated that hostilities had broken out in the Territory, interrupting an informal cease-fire that had been in effect for over two years.

He said time would be needed to continue consultations with the parties. The delay, he stated, had obliged him to accept the resignation of his Special Representative, Johannes Manz, who was to become Switzerland's Permanent Observer to the UN with effect from 1 January 1992.

Both the Council and the General Assembly reiterated support for further efforts by the Secretary-General in organizing the referendum.

In unanimously adopting resolution 725 (1991), the Council called on the parties to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General in implementing the settlement plan.

The Secretary-General stressed that the parties had tended to interpret differently provisions concerning the identification process. That matter had not yet been reconciled.

Identification process

The first stage of the identification process—UN preparation of a revised list of the 1974 Western Sahara census based on information provided by the two parties—had been completed. But agreement on publication of that list in the Territory—the next stage in the process—had not been achieved.

"As is well known", the Secretary-General stated, "a number of persons who are claimed to belong to Western Sahara" had been moved into the Territory. Utmost restraint must be exercised to ensure that the plan's implementation was not jeopardized by such actions. Anything that could endanger the "indispensable climate of confidence" should be avoided. Only those persons who had been duly identified by the UN would eventually be eligible to vote in the referendum, he declared.

The identification process would involve proof by applicants to support their claim to vote. In addition to official documents, the Commission would consider the fact that oral testimonies played an important part in all social activities in the Saharan society.

Guidelines alone could not enable the UN to fulfil in a satisfactory manner the identification process, which was complex and time-consuming. In the coming months, serious efforts would have to be made at the political and technical levels to keep the process going.

Council calls for completion of 'set of ideas' for agreement on Cyprus

UN Photo 178996/J. Isaac

Cyprus President Vassiliou *(left)* with Assembly President Shihabi in New York.

The Security Council on 23 December asked the leaders of the two communities in Cyprus and of Greece and Turkey to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General in urgently completing the set of ideas on an overall framework agreement on Cyprus.

Council members unanimously endorsed the Secretary-General's 19 December report *(S/23300)* on his mission of good offices in Cyprus and fully shared his view that a solution was long overdue. They said the leaders of the two communities and of Greece and Turkey should devote their full energies to the early achievement of a solution.

The Secretary-General was asked to report to the Council by April 1992 on whether sufficient progress had been made to convene a high-level international meeting for concluding an agreement.

Progress reported

The Secretary-General's report covered his activities, pursuant to Council resolution 716 (1991) of 11 October, by which the Council had endorsed his plan to resume discussions in early November with Greece, Turkey and the two parties on the set of ideas on an overall agreement.

He reported progress made on the set of ideas, stating that the framework of a settlement had "become clear".

According to the report, the agreement would result in the establishment of a bicommunal and bizonal federation, one State comprising two politically equal communities in which sovereignty would be equally shared but indivisible, that would safeguard the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus and exclude union in whole or in part with any other country and any form of partition or secession.

The federation would be established through a new constitutional arrangement that would be approved through separate referendums in each community.

In the federal republic to be established, the relations of the two communities would be regulated on the basis of political equality. It had been agreed that while political equality did not mean equal numerical participation in all federal government branches and administration, it should be reflected: in the requirement that the federal constitution of the State of Cyprus be approved or amended with the concurrence of both communities; in the effective participation of both communities in all organs and decisions of the federal Government; in safeguards to ensure that the federal Government will not be empowered to adopt any measures against the interests of one community; and in the equality and identical powers and functions of the two federated States.

Both sides agreed that the 1960 Treaties of Guarantee and of Alliance remain in force and would be supplemented in an agreed manner. The security and guarantee provisions in the set of ideas provided for the withdrawal of all non-Cypriot forces not foreseen in the Treaty of Alliance and arrangements to ensure the security of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities.

The set of ideas also contained useful elements for resolving the issues of territorial adjustments and displaced persons. Also, useful ideas had been set out on transitional arrangements to implement the overall agreement.

Mandate extended

On 12 December, the Security Council extended the mandate of the UN Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus for six months, until 15 June 1992.

Political solution to Afghan problem called for by Assembly

The General Assembly, calling for faithful implementation of the 1988 Geneva Agreements on Afghanistan, on 5 December called on all parties concerned to promote actively a search for ways towards a political solution acceptable to Afghans, on the basis of the principles contained in the Secretary-General's statement of 21 May.

Those principles are: the need to preserve the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-aligned and Islamic character of the country; the recognition of the right of Afghans to determine their own form of government and choose their economic, political and social system, "free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraints of any kind whatsoever"; and the need for a transition period, details of which have to be worked out and agreed upon through an intra-Afghan dialogue, leading to the establishment of a broad-based Government.

The principles also include: the necessity of an agreement—to be implemented together with all agreed transitional arrangements—to end arms supplies to all Afghan sides, by all; and the recognition of the need for adequate financial and material resources to alleviate the hardship of Afghan refugees and the creation of necessary conditions for their voluntary repatriation, as well as for Afghanistan's economic and social reconstruction.

UN Photo 156465/J. Isaac

Refugees at a Peshawar camp, making mattresses.

All parties concerned were also called on to create conditions of peace and normalcy that would enable Afghan refugees to return voluntarily to their homeland in safety and honour. The Assembly emphasized the need for an early start of the intra-Afghan dialogue for the establishment, through democratic procedures acceptable to Afghans, including free and fair elections, of a broad-based government to ensure the broadest support and immediate participation of all segments of the Afghan people.

The Assembly took action by adopting resolution 46/23 without a vote.

A 'unique opportunity'

In a 17 October report *(A/46/577-S/23146)*, the Secretary-General said durable peace in Afghanistan could only be reached through a political settlement.

Efforts towards a comprehensive settlement had received impetus from an agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union to discontinue weapons deliveries to all Afghan sides, effective 1 January 1992. All other Governments concerned should take "urgently similar decisions" and halt not only the supply of arms, but also the financing of arms purchases.

Human dimension

"The human dimension of 13 years of war in Afghanistan has unfortunately not received its due attention", states Benon Sevan, the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General in Afghanistan and Pakistan, in a preface to a 67-page report of the UN Humanitarian and Economic Assistance Programmes relating to Afghanistan (UNOCA) in 1992.

Mr. Sevan added: "With the process towards a political settlement on the right track, it has become more urgent than ever that the international community sustain its efforts on the humanitarian front. Such assistance will not only help alleviate the suffering of the Afghan people, but also reinforce the peace process."

600,000 displaced

UN peace-keeping operation for Yugoslavia in question

Cease-fire must first be respected

UN Photo 178970/J. Isaac

The Security Council on 8 January endorsed the immediate dispatch to Yugoslavia of a group of up to 50 military liaison officers to help maintain a cease-fire. It also urged all parties in Yugoslavia to honour their commitments aimed at ending the hostilities that began in that country in June 1991.

In unanimously adopting resolution 727 (1992), the Council welcomed the signing of an Implementing Accord at Sarajevo on 2 January 1992 concerning modalities for carrying out the unconditional cease-fire agreed to by the parties on 23 November in Geneva.

Prior to the Council's action, the Secretary-General's Personal Envoy to Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance, had completed his fifth mission to that war-torn country. Mr. Vance was appointed to his post on 8 October.

In a 5 January 1992 report *(S/23363)*, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said a UN peace-keeping force could not be established in Yugoslavia "without sustained evidence of the willingness and ability of the leaders on both sides to ensure that the cease-fire is respected". Nor would he recommend the establishment of such a force, until he had reason to believe that all those on whose cooperation its ability to carry out its mandate would depend had genuinely accepted the concept described in his predecessor's report of 11 December *(S/23280)*.

Negotiations between the parties had resulted in the Geneva Agreement of 23 November *(S/23239)*, signed by the Presidents of Serbia and Croatia, and the Secretary of State for National Defence of Yugoslavia. In addition to calling for a cease-fire, the Agreement provided for the immediate lifting by Croatia of its blockade of all Yugoslav National Army (JNA) barracks and installations, and the immediate withdrawal from Croatia of those blockaded personnel and their equipment. It also aimed to facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance to persons affected by the conflict. It was estimated that there were more than 600,000 persons displaced by the conflict.

Compliance asked

Meeting on 27 November, the Council strongly urged the parties to the conflict in Yugoslavia to comply with the 23 November cease-fire agreement. That agreement was the fourteenth since the conflict began in June.

In unanimously adopting resolution 721 (1991), the Council undertook to examine and take prompt action on any recommendations made by the Secretary-General, including the possible establishment of a UN peace-keeping operation in Yugoslavia.

The Council approved the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Envoy, Cyrus Vance.

On 26 November, the Council President received a letter *(S/23240)* from Yugoslavia asking for a peace-keeping operation in that country.

New mission terms

According to the Secretary-General's report, the 50 military liaison officers were to be attached to the general headquarters of the JNA and the Croatian People's Guard, and to their field headquarters down to the corps level.

UN Photo 178863/J. Isaac

Mr. Vance

Officers would have their own communications to enable them to be in direct contact with their UN counterparts on the other side. Efforts would be undertaken to ensure their harmonious coordination with European Community monitors. They would use their good offices to promote maintenance of the cease-fire by facilitating communication between the two sides and helping them to resolve difficulties that might arise.

The mission would take place on the assumption that the cease-fire would quickly establish itself and that conditions for deployment would be met by which the liaison group could be superseded by a larger operation as outlined in the 11 December report. (Among other things, the military and police personnel would be contributed on a voluntary basis by Member States. All would be required to be completely impartial among the various parties to the conflict. Armed personnel would have standing instructions to use force to the minimum extent necessary and normally only in self-defence. The operation would remain in Yugoslavia until a negotiated settlement of the conflict was achieved.)

UN troops and police monitors would be deployed in certain areas in Croatia designated as "United Nations Protected Areas", which would be demilitarized. The role of UN troops would be to ensure that the areas remained demilitarized and that their inhabitants were protected from fear of armed attack.

The role of the police monitors would be to ensure that local police forces carried out their duties on a non-discriminatory basis, without abusing anyone's human rights. As the UN Force assumed its responsibilities in the protected areas, all JNA forces deployed elsewhere in Croatia would be relocated outside that republic.

The Force would also assist UN humanitarian agencies in the return of all displaced persons who so desired to their homes in the protected areas.

At present, however, "the general situation in Yugoslavia continues to worsen", the Secretary-General stated on 11 December, while "the crisis in the humanitarian area in particular is deepening".

Conditions not ideal

Meeting on 15 December, the Council agreed with the Secretary-General's assessment that "conditions for establishing a peace-keeping operation in Yugoslavia still do not exist".

In unanimously adopting resolution 724 (1991), the Council endorsed the Secretary-General's offer to send a group of personnel, including military personnel, to prepare for the deployment of a peace-keeping operation. (On 19 December, a UN advance team arrived in Belgrade.)

The Council indicated that full compliance with the unconditional cease-fire agreed to by the parties on 23 November in Geneva would permit accelerated consideration of establishing a peace-keeping operation in Yugoslavia. It strongly urged all States and parties to refrain from any action that might inhibit the establishment of a cease-fire.

UN Photo 177344/M. Grant

Street scene in Belgrade.

First Committee:

'New avenues in disarmament'

UN Photo 158687/H. Arvidsson

Assembly calls for register of conventional arms

The creation of a universal and non-discriminatory register of conventional arms as of 1 January 1992 was called for in resolution 46/36 L, adopted by the General Assembly on 9 December.

It would "include data on international arms transfers, as well as information provided by Member States on military holdings, procurement through national production and relevant policies", the Assembly stated.

States are requested to report annually to the Secretary-General on their inventories and export/import of battle tanks, armoured combat vehicles, large calibre artillery systems, combat aircraft, attack helicopters, warships and missiles or missile systems.

The Assembly action was largely regarded as a sign of growing realization that the UN is well-placed to take a leading role in the field of disarmament and international peace and security, as well as confidence-building. Such a register would "foster a climate that is conducive to voluntary restraint and more responsible behaviour", stated Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar in his 1991 annual report.

In the view of First Committee (Political and Security) Chairman Robert Mroziewicz of Poland, the resolution "signals a genuine commitment by Member States from every part of the globe to direct serious attention to the threat posed by conventional weapons buildups". The readiness to "get rid of old clichés and to embark on the path of exploring new avenues in disarmament" was evident in the case of almost all issues considered by the Committee, he said.

Also adopted were texts on: regional centres for disarmament; confidence-building at regional and subregional levels; conventional disarmament on a regional scale; eradication of illicit trade in all kinds of weapons; prohibition or restricted use of specific conventional weapons; and compliance with the spirit and the provisions of all arms limitation and disarmament agreements.

The Committee this year recommended adoption of 48 resolutions and decisions on issues related to disarmament and international security.

Marked by dramatic changes in international relations and recent far-reaching disarmament initiatives, the current session was proof of strengthened UN efforts to "act more effectively and unanimously", according to Assembly President Samir S. Shihabi of Saudi Arabia.

Nuclear disarmament

In 12 draft resolutions related to nuclear items, the Assembly noted progress achieved in that field, specifically referring to dramatic disarmament initiatives by the two super-Powers.

The Assembly asked the United States and the USSR to give "highest priority" to reducing their nuclear armaments. It urged the early discontinuance of all nuclear-test explosions "for all time", reaffirming the necessity for a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty.

The world body also urged the two major nuclear-weapon States to agree on an immediate nuclear-arms freeze.

The acceptance, in principle, by France and China of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) was highlighted in debate. The Assembly noted the intent to launch in 1993 preparatory work for an NPT Review Conference in 1995.

Other important issues related to nuclear disarmament concerned prohibition of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons under any circumstances; effective international arrangements to assure non-nuclear-weapon States against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons; establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in South Asia and the Middle East; and implementation of the Declaration on the Denuclearization of Africa.

Chemical and biological weapons

Stressing the importance of declarations made by States on whether or not they possess chemical weapons and welcoming initiatives by States that could lead to a ban on chemical weapons, the Assembly strongly urged the Conference on Disarmament to resolve outstanding issues so as to achieve final agreement on a worldwide convention in 1992.

In another resolution—on measures to uphold the authority of the 1925 Geneva Protocol on chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons—the session deplored "all threats, including especially those made most recently, of use of chemical weapons" and condemned vigorously all actions that violated or threatened to violate the obligations assumed under the Protocol.

The Final Declaration of the Third Review Conference of the Parties to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction, adopted by consensus in September in Geneva, was welcomed.

Urge monitoring of security of small States

The General Assembly on 9 December urged the Secretary-General to continue monitoring the security situation of small States and to consider bringing to the attention of the Security Council any threats to their security.

The Secretary-General was also asked to continue exploring ways to preserve their security and continue consultations with Council members and interested Governments.

Regional and international organizations were urged to provide security assistance as requested by small States. The Assembly recognized the particular vulnerability of small States to external threats and acts of interference in their internal affairs, and stressed the importance of unconditional respect by all States for such Charter principles as sovereign equality, territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

According to a UN report *(A/46/339)*, which detailed the recommendations of a workshop held in Maldives in May, Member States acknowledged that the international community had a vested interest in safeguarding the security of small States. Since such States had a limited capacity to provide for their own security, it was advisable to create an "environment of support and protection" for them. The UN might take the lead in creating such protective environment, primarily by building upon arrangements already existing under the international collective security system envisaged in the UN Charter. Security arrangements for small States should involve "supporting arrangements" at the regional and subregional levels.

Disarmament now, a 'two-track process'

From an interview with Robert Mroziewicz, Chairman of the First Committee:

The end of the cold war and the overall improved political climate could not fail to influence the work of the First Committee. There was a general feeling that we should achieve understanding, or even consensus, on most questions before us. Member States concentrated on issues which seemed to have practical solutions in the foreseeable future. The number of resolutions considered was reduced. This year, 48 texts were approved—almost half of those adopted three years ago. We've managed to get rid of some purely rhetorical and repetitious decisions.

The voting pattern was definitely different. There was no evident opposition between East and West. We also witnessed an obvious change in disarmament philosophies, as well as a greater willingness to accept a wider divergence of viewpoints without holding on to positions in the context of political polarization.

Now, with the nuclear threat significantly reduced, I think that disarmament should be a two-track process—first, further and deeper cuts in nuclear armaments; the second, action on all other issues, including conventional disarmament and chemical weapons.

The need to define a new system of security in the post-cold war period was stressed by many. This new and wider security concept encompasses several important components, but the basic idea is that the UN should be not only the peace-keeper—which is a very important part of its activities—but also the peacemaker.

Other issues

The Conference on Disarmament was requested to continue negotiations on banning the development, production, stockpiling and use of radiological weapons. It was also asked to re-establish ad hoc committees on the comprehensive programme of disarmament and on preventing an arms race in outer space.

The urgency of preventing an arms race in outer space was reaffirmed by the Assembly, through further measures to consolidate the legal regime applicable to outer space with appropriate and effective provisions for verification. Support for UN activities in connection with the International Space Year in 1992 was also sought.

The question of environmental protection also drew attention, especially in view of the recent war in the Gulf. The Assembly arranged for preparations for a Second Review Conference of the Parties to the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques.

States were asked to prevent dumping of nuclear or radioactive wastes outside of their territories. A UN study on potential use of resources allocated to military activities for civilian endeavours to protect the environment was noted.

Other decisions were taken on: the relationship between disarmament and development; the role of the Conference on Disarmament as the "single multilateral disarmament negotiating forum"; the work of the Disarmament Commission; and the World Disarmament Campaign.

Two texts on Antarctica adopted

While welcoming the recent signing in Madrid of the Protocol on Environmental Protection by the Antarctic Treaty Parties, the Assembly expressed disappointment that the Protocol was not negotiated with the full participation of the international community.

On 6 December, the world body also noted that the Protocol lacked proper monitoring and implementation mechanisms, and had not taken into consideration the international call for a permanent ban on prospecting and mining in Antarctica.

Further, the Assembly stated that any move to draw up an international convention to establish a nature reserve or world park on the continent must be negotiated with full international participation. It regretted that the UN Secretary-General had not been invited to meetings of the Antarctic Treaty Consultative Parties, and urged the Parties to do so in the future.

Consultative Parties were also asked to increase their level of cooperation in order to reduce the number of scientific stations on the continent. The international community was urged to ensure that all activities in Antarctica would be carried out "exclusively for the purpose of peaceful scientific investigation".

In another action, the Assembly again deplored the continuing participation of South Africa in meetings of the Consultative Parties, asking for its exclusion until apartheid was totally eliminated.

Second Committee

Assembly declares poverty eradication a priority; Debt, entrepreneurship among other concerns

UN Photo 154355/Kevin Bubriski

Scene of poverty: Outside Dhaka, Bangladesh.

The General Assembly took aim at the worldwide phenomenon of poverty, adopting on 17 December a resolution calling for international cooperation for its eradication in developing countries. Recommended by the Second Committee (Economic and Financial), it was one of many devoted to development and the international economy.

The texts, almost all adopted by consensus, included those dealing with the debt crisis, an international conference on financing of development, economic and technical cooperation, entrepreneurship, trade and other issues pertinent to developing nations, including new criteria for defining the least developed among them. They also included the approval of assistance programmes to countries or regions where poverty is severe.

On 2 October, during a four-day debate on the world economic situation, Francis Eric Aguilar Hecht of Guatemala said that the developing world did not like being poor and that its people were demanding a life they could see only on television—provided, of course, that they had access to electricity.

After reviewing a new report on poverty *(A/46/454)*, the Assembly in resolution 46/141 noted that eradicating poverty in developing countries had become "a top-priority development objective for the 1990s". National and international efforts, it said, had not yet had a significant impact on the problem. It stressed the importance of domestic policies in mobilizing and allocating resources to eradicate poverty. It also reiterated that "a supportive international economic environment" was crucial to success.

The international community should increase financial flows to developing countries to the agreed target level of 0.7 per cent of gross national product for official development assistance (ODA). Technology should be transferred to developing countries on concessional and preferential terms. A call was also made for a report on "action-oriented" poverty programmes.

The report analysed poverty in developing countries and proposed measures for its "urgent and permanent" eradication while recognizing that a solution to the problem would be forthcoming, it concluded, "only if a solution is found to the debt crisis".

Debt: A four-letter word

Warming to its task, the Assembly on 18 December adopted resolution 46/148 expressing its concern that the debt burden constituted a major obstacle to the "acceleration of growth and development and eradication of poverty" in many countries, despite the countries' often strenuous stabilization and structural adjustment programmes.

It called for a "supportive international economic environment" regarding terms of trade and commodity prices, and a successful outcome of the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations.

More to the point, however, are paragraphs urging Member States and financial institutions to work towards an "early, growth- and development-oriented solution" to the external debt problem of developing countries. Debt relief measures were needed urgently, beyond those already taken.

The Assembly called for further cancellation or reduction of debt and debt service related to ODA, for more urgent action with regard to commercial debt and for such innovative measures as debt-for-equity, debt-for-nature and debt-for-development swaps.

In debate, some speakers referred to the inadequacy of a ''piecemeal'' approach taken to debt relief and called for a ''comprehensive and non-discriminatory'' global strategy. Acute poverty, to which debt contributed, was ''an enemy of true democracy'', it was said.

The Assembly noted the Secretary-General's report on the ''recent evolution of the international debt strategy'' *(A/46/415)*, which details debt owed to official bilateral creditors, commercial banks and multilateral creditors, and types and amounts of debt forgiveness or debt rescheduling. Lack of progress is blamed on a compartmentalized approach to debt negotiation. The scale of debt reduction should be raised and the scope of debt eligible for restructuring should be enlarged, concludes the report.

On 11 November, Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar reaffirmed his support for convening a conference on the financing of development.

Slicing the aid pie

The global tug-of-war for development funds also came to the fore in Assembly resolution 46/202. Taking note of this summer's special high-level meeting of the Economic and Social Council on the impact of the recent evolution of East-West relations on the world economy, the Assembly noted assurances by developed countries and multilateral financial institutions that resources allocated to Central and Eastern Europe ''would not reduce or divert the resources'' and ODA, including food aid, allocated to the developing countries.

The Secretary-General was asked to analyse in 1992 the impact on developing countries of measures taken to aid Central and Eastern Europe. Member States supplying those European countries should consider, where appropriate, triangular arrangements to benefit developing countries, i.e. donor countries buying food aid for Eastern Europe from developing nations.

Under the DIEC umbrella

By resolution 46/144, the Assembly reaffirmed the May 1990 Declaration on International Economic Cooperation—a document setting forth commitments and policies of developed and developing countries to foster sustained growth of the world economy and revitalize developing countries.

The Assembly also decided to combine in 1992 reviews of the implementation of the Declaration and of the International Development Strategy for the Fourth UN Development Decade (1991-2000).

Another call for cooperation came in continued Assembly support for the 1978 Buenos Aires Plan of Action for Promoting and Implementing Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries. By resolution 46/159, it was stressed that such cooperation was not meant to replace but to complement North-South with South-South cooperation. It reaffirmed that developing countries were responsible for promoting technical cooperation among themselves, although developed countries and the UN system should also play a role.

The *Report of the South Commission*, which had been reviewed by the Council in July *(see* UN Chronicle, *December 1991, No.4 issue)*, was

Poverty in developing countries: A new report

The poor have always been with us, the saying goes. But their sheer numbers and many aspects of their condition have substantially changed in recent times as a result of development and the forces of modernization, according to a new UN report on the subject of international cooperation for the eradication of poverty in developing countries *(A/46/454)*.

Nowadays, the gap between the poor and the non-poor is more pronounced than ever.

In addition to proposing solutions to poverty, the report discusses the effect the international economic environment had on it in the 1980s and some experiences of developing countries trying to alleviate it.

A distinction is made between the poor, who may be deprived compared to the general society but can still sustain a minimum standard of living, and what is termed the ''extremely poor'', for whom nutritional needs outweigh all other considerations. Estimates are that more than 1.1 billion people in the world are poor; over 600 million of those, living predominantly in rural areas, are considered extremely poor. Two thirds of the latter live in Asia, another 120 million are in sub-Saharan Africa, 50 million in Latin America, and 40 million in North Africa and the Near East.

The report notes that, as a share of total population, poverty in developing countries has actually declined since the Second World War. However, rapid population growth has caused it to increase in absolute numerical terms.

welcomed as injecting new life into South-South cooperation, which some considered as "a major pillar of development".

Development of, by, for the people

A UN report *(A/46/461)* on "developing human resources for development" emphasized a new approach to development thinking. Human resources had come to be viewed "both as a chief instrument and a primary goal of development activities".

Because of recent political change, what was "often a sterile debate over the ideal development model has been replaced by a more pragmatic approach", the report continued. Major social problems cannot be solved "merely on the basis of trickle-down approaches", but must be addressed simultaneously with socio-political, economic and environmental issues, it was stated.

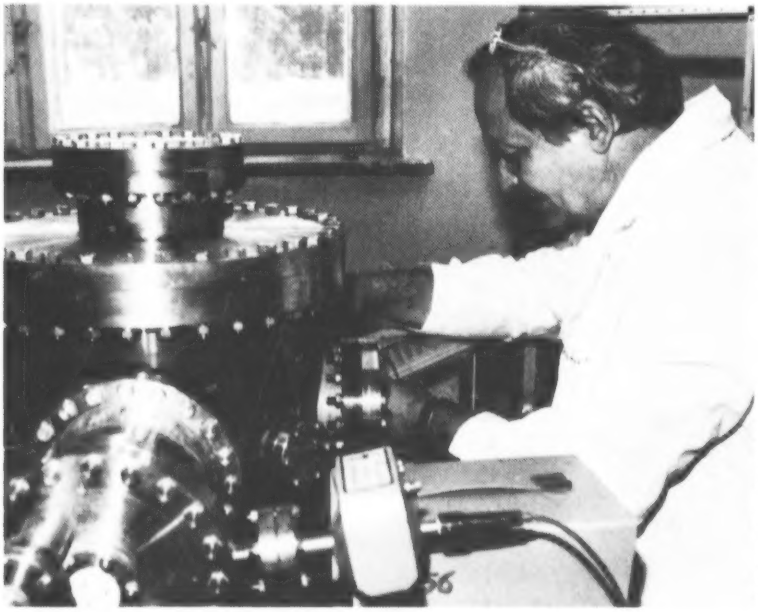
In resolution 46/143, the Assembly emphasized that a well-conceived approach to developing human resources should take into account "such vital areas as population, health, nutrition, water, sanitation, housing, communications, education and training, as well as the need to create more opportunities for employment". Backing efforts in these areas should be guarantees of political freedom, popular participation and respect for human rights.

Entrepreneurship moves into the spotlight

Entrepreneurship was not a new item on the General Assembly's agenda in 1991, but the enthusiasm that greeted it was.

In a warm welcome that was a sign of post-cold war times, both the Eastern European countries making the change from centrally-planned to market economies and the African countries that had previously stressed the public sector in development showed interest in the resolution *(46/166)*, recommended by the Assembly's Second Committee and adopted without vote on 19 December.

Building on last year's initiative, the Assembly asked the UN system to improve the efficiency of its activities for promoting entrepreneurship, including the provision of technical assistance to interested countries. Specifically, it requested increased UN support of private sector development in interested countries through the promotion of small- and medium-sized enterprises, as well as co-operatives. It also requested support for the development of more effective public enterprises by promoting, where appropriate, market-oriented approaches to their operation.



UN Photo 177404/M. Grant

Technology at work.

Industrial development

A new report *(A/46/455)* on industrial development cooperation and the diversification and modernization of productive activities in developing countries referred to regional integration movements, such as the single European Community market. "The trend toward an integrated global industrial economy is leading to fierce competition where only the fittest enterprises will survive", it was stated.

The current technological revolution is bypassing large parts of the developing world. Long-term prospects for more areas appear bleak.

The Assembly recommended *(46/146)* that the Industrial Development Board of the UN Industrial Development Organization consider a study of long-term industrial structure to help developing countries face growing challenges to their industrial and technological development.

More help?

The Assembly also asked *(46/154)* for an evaluation of the extent to which efforts by developing countries to stabilize their economies were being supported by the international economic environment. In a report *(A/46/385)*, socio-political aspects of stabilization and adjustment policies were discussed. The success of any programme depends on local government "ownership", meaning that the Government in charge of implementing it must see it as expressing its own intent, it concluded.

The Assembly recognized in resolution 46/165 that emerging technologies are radically shifting the comparative advantages between countries.

Plea for fair trade

Noting that the eighth session of the UN Conference on Trade and and Development (UNCTAD), set for Cartagena de Indias, Colombia (8-25 February 1992), had a development-oriented agenda, the Assembly in resolution 46/209 reaffirmed the need for strengthening the rules and disciplines of the multilateral trading system, urging participants in the Uruguay Round to "adopt a constructive and comprehensive approach" to achieve a successful and balanced outcome.

Another resolution on "economic measures as a means of political and economic coercion against developing countries" *(46/210)* warned that such measures adversely affected development efforts of developing countries. Continued trade restrictions, blockades, embargoes, freezing of assets and other sanctions were deplored.

Disagreement on an international code of conduct on the transfer of technology appeared to be softening. An UNCTAD report *(A/46/564)* stated that the 1991 consultations were the most "intensive and cooperative" since negotiations on the code were suspended in 1985.

In resolution 46/212 on land-locked developing countries, it was recognized that "remoteness and isolation from world markets and prohibitive transit costs" imposed serious constraints on their socio-economic development efforts. The Assembly asked for a meeting of experts in 1993 to propose a concrete programme of action to assist these nations.

The Assembly also expressed appreciation to UNCTAD and the International Maritime Organization for preparing a draft convention on maritime liens and mortgages. A conference to consider the convention will be held in Geneva during the first half of 1993.

LDCs: Programme of Action under way; new criteria, new names

The world's poorest countries were the focus of attention as the forty-sixth General Assembly adopted resolutions urging the international community to implement commitments to the UN Programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) for the 1990s and approving new criteria for inclusion of those nations in the UN list of LDCs.

The addition of Cambodia, Madagascar, the Solomon Islands, Zaire and Zambia brings the total to 47 LDCs; Botswana will be phased off over a period of three years.

In its resolution 46/156, the Assembly recalled its endorsement of the Programme of Action, adopted in Paris in September 1990 at the Second UN Conference on the LDCs. It expressed its concern about the "continuing deterioration in their socio-economic situation" and called for the Programme's full implementation as "a matter of urgency". It reaffirmed that the LDCs themselves had the primary responsibility for their national policies and should continue to implement the commitments they undertook at the Paris Conference.

But donor countries should implement "fully and expeditiously" their own commitments, keeping in mind the possibility of implementing new measures.

The basis for Assembly action was a comprehensive report *(A/46/566)* prepared by the UN Conference on Trade and Development, discussing progress achieved during the first year of the Programme.

A new ID for LDCs

A report by the Committee for Development Planning *(E/1991/32)* defined LDCs as low-income countries suffering long-term handicaps to growth, especially low levels of human resource development and/or severe structural weaknesses. A country qualifies as an LDC if it satisfies certain criteria relating to per capita gross domestic product, human resource development, economic diversification, agricultural production, petroleum exports, amount of official development assistance, low population, geographical isolation and tendency towards natural disasters.

UN Conference on Environment and Development

Earth Summit puts future of rich and poor alike 'in our hands'

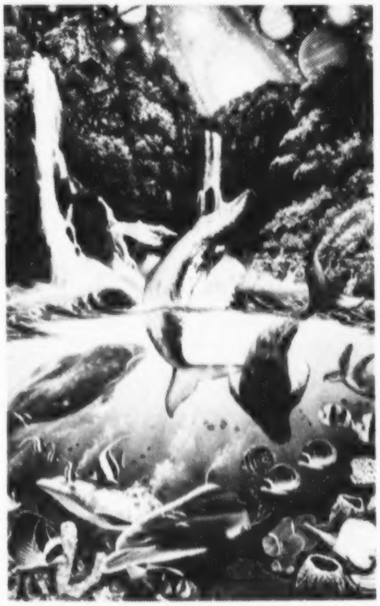
Industrialized countries degrade the environment by insatiable consumption of resources and intense production of wastes, while high fertility and rapid population growth in many developing countries put damaging pressure on the planet. Combined, such human demands are undermining the world's natural resource base—land, water and air—upon which all development depends. The issues are, therefore, not only environmental but also economic.

To highlight these crucial links, the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), informally known as the ''Earth Summit'', will be held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, from 1 to 12 June 1992.

Marking the twentieth anniversary of the 1972 Stockholm UN Conference on the Human Environment—the first global meeting on the subject—UNCED will strive to fashion integrated strategies to prevent further degradation of the global environment and encourage sustainable development.

Funded jointly by the UN and voluntary contributions, the Conference is expected to be the largest meeting ever of world leaders. The importance of participation by developing countries has been stressed in particular by the forty-sixth Assembly. In addition, up to 20,000 representatives of non-governmental organizations will take part in the Global Forum to be held in Rio at the same time as the Summit.

UNCED is to provide an ''unprecedented opportunity to move from reactive policies born of crisis management to forward-looking, deliberate and cooperative strategies based on costed commitments to action'', said the UN Environment Programme Deputy Executive Secretary William Mansfield III on 20 November, in opening the Assembly's Second Committee (Economic and Financial) debate on issues related to the environment.



WFUNA Photo

From a painting by Christian Riese Lassen, featured on a WFUNA first-day cover, issued on 13 March 1992, with the theme ''Clean Oceans''.

As such, a notable outcome expected from the Conference is ''Agenda 21'', a plan of action for global progress in environment and development. Also on the agenda is the signing of international instruments on climate change and biodiversity.

Action areas to be included in Agenda 21 relate to: the atmosphere, forests and land resources; oceans and freshwater resources; wastes; biodiversity; and a number of cross-cutting issues, such as poverty, health, energy, consumption patterns and demographic pressures, intended to make the Conference's developmental dimension stand out clearly.

Banned: 'Destructive and wasteful' drift-net fishing

During a single year, at just one of many fisheries in the seas of the North Pacific, an estimated 41 million marine animals from more than 100 different species were killed incidentally as huge pelagic drift-nets hauled in a target catch of more than 100 million squid.

This and other new data, reviewed by an international scientific team in June, confirmed for the General Assembly that there are continued grounds for concerns about the unacceptable impact of such fishing practices on the marine environment.

A unanimous call *(resolution 46/215)* was made on 20 December for an absolute ban on large-scale pelagic drift-net fishing by the end of 1992, ''notwithstanding that it will create adverse socio-economic effects on the communities involved in high seas pelagic drift-net fishing operations''.

Even Japan, which the Secretary-General reported *(A/46/615)* had in 1990 some 1,000 vessels in the North Pacific engaged in large-scale drift-net fishing, supported the all-out ban.

Existing large-scale fisheries must reduce drift-net fishing by 50 per cent by mid-1992 to ensure that a global moratorium is fully implemented on the world's high seas by the end of that year.

New UN high official

Emergency Relief Coordinator will ensure 'rapid response' to disaster

During the past two decades, some 3 million people have lost their lives and 800 million more have been affected by "the havoc, hardship and suffering" brought about by natural disaster.

By the dawn of the 1990s, natural disaster, together with man-made conflict, had created a world-wide refugee population of some 17 million people.

During 1991, the internati[illegible] community was confronted [illegible] some of the largest and most complex humanitarian emergencies of recent times, said Sadako Ogata, UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), to the General Assembly's Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural). She opened the debate on the UNHCR report on refugee issues on 7 November, calling for concerted action to consolidate emergency response.

Action towards this end was taken on 19 December when the Assembly established the position of a UN Emergency Relief Coordinator to be appointed by the Secretary-General, who would also set up a central emergency revolving fund—financed by voluntary contributions—in order to ensure a rapid response to crises.

Resolution 46/182, adopted by acclamation, also dealt in general with strengthening UN coordination of humanitarian emergency assistance and contained guiding principles for improving the UN response to a wide range of international emergencies.

UN Photo 135198

Disaster Decade

In relation to the International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction (the 1990s), the Assembly on 18 December encouraged Governments to share valuable experience and transfer scientific and technical knowledge for disaster mitigation by a text *(46/149)* recommended through its Second Committee (Economic and Financial).

The importance of international cooperation for monitoring environmental threats and providing assistance for environmental emergencies was stressed *(46/217)* and the Assembly supported the UN Environment Programme's creation of a centre for urgent environmental assistance.

By resolution 46/150 on international cooperation to minimize the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster, the UN system was requested to continue consideration of possible technical and other specialized assistance in the areas most affected by the 1986 nuclear power plant accident.

Refugees around the world

During 1990, the global refugee situation had deteriorated in an unprecedented way, particularly in the Middle East and the Horn and western regions of Africa, according to the UNHCR report *(A/46/12)*.

West Africa, for example, saw a threefold growth in refugees—from 200,000 to 875,500. In the Middle East, many of the more than 2.5 million Palestine refugees suffered severe economic and social consequences of the Persian Gulf crisis, the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East recently reported.

Asia and Oceania saw a decrease in the number of arrivals of Vietnamese asylum-seekers, but some 67,000 Lao refugees and more than 300,000 Cambodians were assisted in the region.

In Western Europe, asylum-seekers numbered 420,000—an increase of 100,000 from 1989. Major refugee flows in the region were from Albania to Greece, Italy and Yugoslavia, and from Iraq to Turkey.

The trend towards voluntary repatriation of Central American refugees accelerated. The UNHCR—which assisted nearly 100,000 refugees in the region—facilitated large-scale repatriations of Nicaraguans and Salvadorians. Smaller repatriation efforts involved Guatemalans, Hondurans, Haitians and Chileans.

Against tyranny

Human rights concerns dominate Third Committee

Principles to protect mentally ill adopted

A quarter of a century after the adoption of the International Covenants on Human Rights, the world is still a place "where the tyranny of power, poverty and discrimination too often brutalizes human beings", Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar said during the General Assembly's commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption on 16 December.

"Clearly, in such a world, the protection of the weak and the vulnerable requires that the implementation of our human rights instruments assume a quality of moral urgency", he stated.

The Assembly responded on 17 December by adopting 32 resolutions and decisions relating to human rights as recommended by the Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural), following a debate which included more than 100 statements by Member States, Special Rapporteurs and other official speakers.

Fasanella: Honouring human rights

American artist Ralph Fasanella calls himself a "humanist" who identifies with the working people. Therefore, it seems most appropriate that his primitive painting, "The Old Neighborhood", is featured on the World Federation of United Nations Associations' first day cover and limited edition art print, accompanying the UN stamp issue of 20 November 1991 honouring "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights".

The 77-year-old artist, whose paintings have been exhibited in museums throughout the United States and Europe, has been called "the greatest primitive painter since Grandma Moses".

Born to Italian immigrants in a tenement on the lower Eastside of New York City, the artist's densely detailed paintings depict scenes from labour history and American urban life.

Major action included the adoption of a body of principles for the protection of persons with mental illness, establishment of a voluntary trust fund for victims of contemporary forms of slavery and affirmation that poverty is a violation of human dignity.

The Assembly expressed grave concern over the human rights situations in Myanmar, Haiti, Iraq and Kuwait under Iraqi occupation, and for continuing violations in El Salvador and Afghanistan.

The need for objective information on the political, economic and social situations of all countries was stressed *(46/129)*; a stronger UN Centre for Human Rights was called for *(46/118)*; and the establishment of UN centres for human rights documentation and training was approved *(46/124)*.

In one of the few human rights texts that went to a ballot, the Assembly affirmed *(46/117)* by a vote of 123 to 2, with 34 abstentions, that all human rights and fundamental freedoms were indivisible and interrelated, and that protection of one category of rights should never exempt or excuse States from promoting and protecting other rights.

Action was also taken relating to the implementation of human rights instruments, protection of minorities, the right to development, involuntary disappearances, the administration of justice, technological progress and mass exoduses.

Principles for mentally ill

Eleven years in the making, a new set of international standards for the protection of the mentally ill was adopted unanimously on 17 December. The 25 Principles for the protection of persons with mental illness and for the improvement of mental health care cover a wide range of issues and rights, such as: mentally ill people should have the right to live and work, as far as possible, in the community; treatment should be directed towards preserving or enhancing personal autonomy; physical restraint or involuntary seclusion should not be used, except as the only means available to prevent immediate harm to the patient or others; sterilization should never be a treatment for mental illness, while psychosurgery and other intrusive and irreversible treatments should not be carried out involuntarily; and every effort should be made to avoid involuntary admission, except for certain specified reasons.

In another consensus resolution, the Assembly expressed grave concern that slavery, the slave trade and modern manifestations of this phenomenon still exist. It decided *(46/122)* to establish a Trust Fund on Contemporary Forms of Slavery—financed entirely by voluntary contributions—to assist non-governmental organizations dealing with relevant issues and provide aid through established channels to people whose human rights have been violated by contemporary forms of slavery.

Review of instruments

Regarding implementation of human rights instruments, the Secretary-General was requested *(45/111)* to give high priority to establishing a computerized data base to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the functioning of treaty bodies.

Prompted by the Secretary-General's report *(A/46/395)* that no country had yet acceded to the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, the Assembly requested that priority be given *(46/114)* to ratifying the Convention so it would enter into force at an early date. Since its adoption in 1990, only two States—Mexico and Morocco—had signed the Convention, which requires ratification by 20 countries to enter into force.

Yet, the Assembly was encouraged by the unprecedented number of States—100 as of 21 October—that had become party to the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child.

The Assembly also adopted a 17-operative paragraph text *(46/131)* to reinforce efforts aimed at effective implementation of the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief, after noting that 1991 marked the tenth anniversary of its adoption.

Elections

In an action to enhance the effectiveness of genuine elections, the Assembly endorsed *(46/137)*, by a vote of 134 to 4, with 13 abstentions, the designation of a senior UN official to act as a focal point for ensuring consistency in handling requests of States organizing elections. It also called for a voluntary fund to help finance electoral verification missions when a Member State was unable to do so.

The World Conference on Human Rights, to be convened in Berlin, Germany, for two weeks in 1993, was to be given the widest possible publicity by the Secretary-General, and a programme of activities for the International Year for the World's Indigenous People, also in 1993, was adopted, designating the Under-Secretary-General for Human Rights as Coordinator of the Year.

Social Issues:

Deactivating the 'time bomb'

If social issues do not become "the theme" of the 1990s, the twenty-first century risks finding itself "relieved from the grip of the cold war . . . only to be wracked by the internecine conflicts within countries and between the North and South, because an increasing proportion of humanity was living in sub-human conditions", warned Margaret Anstee, Director-General of the UN Office at Vienna and Head of the Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs, in a 16 October address to the Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) of the General Assembly.

The inextricable link between social issues and development was a recurring theme in Committee debate, which heard more than 400 statements by Member States in the course of 60 meetings during the forty-sixth Assembly.

On the recommendation of the Economic and Social Council, the Secretary-General has initiated consultations with Member States on the possibility of convening a world summit on social development through his Special Representative, Juan Somavia.

Taking note of the widespread support expressed for such a meeting, the Assembly on 17 December called upon Governments to actively participate in preparatory consultations, requesting that appropriate recommendations be made on the issue in 1993.

"Unless the 'social time bomb' is deactivated", the developed world would become a ghetto of well being, with those who had a good standard of living surrounded by those excluded from development, said one country representative during Committee debate.

"Lasting peace and security would be illusory without economic development and social progress", declared the Director-General for Development and International Economic Cooperation, Antoine Blanca, on 2 October. The task in the 1990s should be to consolidate recent political gains and take advantage of the emerging convergence of views on many critical economic, social and humanitarian issues.

At present, the allocation of needed resources for developmental social welfare policies "appears to be inhibited by the persistence of the belief that, in the apparent dichotomy between 'economic' and 'social', the latter must necessarily take second place", concluded the UN Secretary-General in a report *(A/46/414)* considered by the Committee. However, "this reasoning is increasingly recognized to be false, for economic and social are but two separate perceptions of a single reality", it was stated.

Stalled social development was expected to be alleviated by the "peace dividend" from the easing of the arms race, but reallocation of resources from military to civilian uses had been "over-estimated", noted the Secretary-General's interim report on the world social situation *(A/46/56)*.

The Assembly on 16 December expressed concern *(resolution 46/95)* that this report "did not adequately focus on the continuing deterioration of the economic and social situation in many developing countries". It called upon the international community to ensure that emerging tendencies in global international relations do not impact negatively on the plight of these nations.

The Assembly further stressed in a 12-paragraph resolution on social development *(46/90)* the interrelationship between economic growth and human welfare as a principal theme of the International Development Strategy for the Fourth United Nations Development Decade (1991-2000). It appealed to Governments to apply the recommendations of the Guiding Principles for Developmental Social Welfare Policies and Programmes in the Near Future, especially those concerning the status of women, the ageing, youth and disabled persons.

Special attention should also be given to socio-economic and cultural conditions in developing countries during the planning and execution of programmes and activities for the International Year of the Family in 1994 *(46/92)*.

The Assembly also decided to devote four plenary meetings in 1992 to mark the conclusion of the UN Decade of Disabled Persons and to review in 1995 the progress made and problems encountered in the quest to achieve a literate world.

To add life to their years . . .

New principles on ageing adopted by Assembly

Humanity's "coming of age" was given high priority by the forty-sixth General Assembly, which observed the first International Day for the Elderly on 1 October.

To establish a common frame of reference for the protection and promotion of the rights of the elderly, the Assembly on 16 December, in resolution 46/91, adopted a set of 18 "Principles for Older Persons" designed, it stated, "To add life to the years that have been added to life". Governments were encouraged to incorporate into their national programmes these principles which relate to the independence, care, self-fulfillment and dignity of the elderly.

The ageing of populations is "a demographic revolution that, sooner or later, will affect every individual and every institution in the world", warned Margaret J. Anstee, Director-General of the UN Office at Vienna where UN activities on ageing are centred. "By the middle of the next century, when this revolution has run its course, the impact will have been at least as powerful as that of any of the great economic and social movements of the past."

The product of this "grey revolution" will be an elderly population of 1.2 billion by the year 2025, six times more than the 200 million elderly worldwide in 1950. During the same period, the "old" old—people 80 years and older—will have grown from 13 million to 137 million.

UN Photo 148798/J. Isaac

"First to age, the developed countries are adjusting and refining policies and programmes especially for the very old", the UN Secretary-General reported *(A/46/361)*. However, developing countries were "projected to age more quickly in the coming decades than developed countries have aged in the past", a particularly serious prospect because developing countries lack the institutions to accommodate the increasing numbers of elderly people.

The newly-adopted principles mandate that older persons should:

- have the opportunity to work and determine when to leave the work force;
- remain integrated in society and participate actively in the formulation of policies which affect them;
- have access to health care to help them maintain the optimum level of physical, mental and emotional well-being:
- be able to pursue opportunities for the full development of their potential and have access to educational, cultural, spiritual and recreational resources of society;
- be able to live in dignity and security, among other rights.

The Assembly also recommended that the UN define targets on ageing to provide a pragmatic focus for "the broad and ideal goals" of the International Plan of Action on Ageing, an international instrument adopted at the World Assembly on Ageing in Vienna in 1982.

A feasibility study was requested on creating a service of experts who are elderly, modelled on the UN Volunteers; and on appointing an interregional adviser to assist developing countries in expanding their ability to respond effectively to the ageing of their populations.

In a 22-paragraph text *(resolution 46/94)*, the Assembly invited special observance of the International Day for the Elderly in 1992 to mark the tenth anniversary of the World Assembly on Ageing and the adoption of the Plan of Action.

Member States were urged to participate at the highest level in the General Assembly's plenary meetings in 1992 devoted to launching global targets on ageing. The Secretary-General was asked to consider appointing eminent personalities as "goodwill ambassadors for ageing" for the next decade (1992-2001).

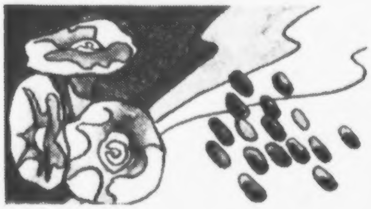
The Assembly also noted the recently-created Banyan Fund Association, a private World Fund for Ageing under UN patronage, which will secure or broker voluntary donations for projects on ageing, particularly in developing countries.

New UN Crime Commission created

Dramatic rise in drug use reported

Lawbreakers are acting ever more aggressively, while organized crime has made inroads into government and economic affairs. New breeds of criminality, including sophisticated computer crime, terrorism, illicit drug-trafficking, money laundering and violent street crime, are creating a pervasive feeling of insecurity throughout the world. Indeed, growing crime rates threaten to become a universal phenomenon comparable to ecological disaster.

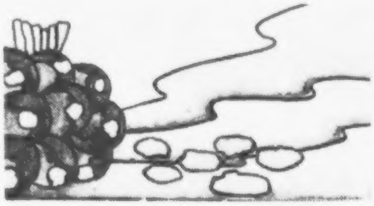
These concerns—voiced by 114 State Ministers who met in Versailles, France in November to consider the creation of an effective UN crime prevention and criminal justice programme—were affirmed on 18 December when the General Assembly unanimously called for the creation of a new commission on crime prevention and criminal justice as a functional body of the Economic and Social Council *(resolution 46/152)*.



The existing Committee on Crime Prevention and Control will be dissolved and its funds made available for the new Commission, which will meet for the first time this spring.

The Assembly also approved a Statement of Principles and Programme of Action of the UN Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Programme devoted to providing States with practical assistance, such as data collection, information and training to help prevent crime within and among States.

The new Commission will consider establishing a foundation for crime prevention and formulating an international convention on crime prevention and criminal justice, said Director-General Margaret J. Anstee to the Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian & Cultural) on 9 December.



Pillar of society

According to the new Statement of Principles, Member States believe that: justice based on the rule of law is the pillar on which civilized society rests; lowering the world crime rate is related to the improvement of social conditions of the population; rising crime is impairing the process of development; and the growing internationalization of crime must generate new and commensurate responses.

Dramatic rise in drug use

Nowhere was the transnationalism of crime more evident, said Secretary-General Pérez de Cuéllar in a message to the Versailles summit, than in the problems of illicit drug trafficking and drug abuse. At the International Conference of the Pontifical Council in Rome on 23 November, he described the "dramatic increase" over the past 20 years in illicit drug production, trafficking and abuse. "According to some estimates, 40 million people throughout the world consume illicit drugs", he said. "There is hardly a nation, a social group, an age group which has been spared."

The crime of drug trafficking was strongly condemned by the Assembly, alarmed by the growing connection between drug trafficking and terrorism, and deeply concerned that the illicit demand for, production of, and traffic in narcotic drugs continued to seriously threaten mankind *(46/103)*.

States were called upon to intensify their actions to promote effective cooperation in the efforts to combat drug abuse and illicit trafficking, but to refrain from using the issue for political purposes. The international fight against drug trafficking "should not in any way" justify violation of the UN Charter and international law, particularly the right of peoples to determine freely their political status, the Assembly affirmed *(46/101)*.

The new integrated UN International Drug Control Programme, created in 1991 to enhance the effectiveness of the UN's structure for drug control, was commended for activities undertaken so far, though the restructuring process is still under way *(46/104)*.

Out of the shadows . . .

Draft Declaration on violence against women proposed

Violence against women is an issue which existed "in the shadows for thousands of years", stated Director-General Margaret Anstee at a recent expert meeting on the subject. "It has been accepted, tolerated or covered up by societies and sometimes even justified on the grounds of culture", she said.

After a November meeting, the UN expert group proposed a draft Declaration on Violence Against Women to be considered by the Commission on the Status of Women in 1992. It would, for the first time, explicitly address the issue of physical, sexual and psychological violence against women.

Also proposed was a Special Thematic Rapporteur, and if necessary, an Optional Protocol to the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

Other vulnerabilities

Women are also vulnerable to the less direct affronts of poverty, underdevelopment and ill health.

In resolution 46/17, the Assembly recognized the effects of poor health on women and their socio-economic development, stressing the need to accelerate the economic empowerment of women in development.

Also, the Assembly recognized *(46/167)* the critical role that women play in primary environmental care, population programmes and in achieving sustainable development.

It also called upon Member States to give priority to policies and programmes relating to the role of women in employment, health and education *(46/98)* and asked the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) to strengthen activities related to the undervaluation of women in economic activities *(46/99)*.

AIDS: Spreading and fast . . .

Statistics on the spread and consequences of the virus which causes the fatal disease of acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) grow ever more sobering.

The World Health Organization has predicted that the number of AIDS cases will increase tenfold over the next eight years, from an estimated 1.5 million today to between 12 and 18 million by the year 2000. Moreover, adults worldwide are increasingly being infected through heterosexual intercourse, resulting in a rise in the number of women infected and health-care costs are likely to skyrocket due to the disease.

Concerned particularly with the dramatic increases in urban areas and developing countries, the Assembly on 20 December, in resolution 46/203, urged Member States to give the AIDS pandemic top priority by developing strong national AIDS programmes to prevent transmission of the virus.

Also emphasized was the need to protect the human rights and dignity of HIV-infected people and avoid discriminatory action against them in providing services, employment and travel. The scientific community was called upon to develop and make available vaccines and pharmaceuticals for effective prevention or therapy as soon as possible.

"If not controlled, AIDS may ultimately prove to be the single greatest assault, beyond the deprivations of poverty, on the health and development of human beings", warned Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar in a message to commemorate World AIDS Day, observed annually since 1988 on 1 December.

Fourth Committee

The right to self-determination: *A speedy exercise*

Geographical location, size of population or area, limited natural resources and other such factors should not delay the speedy exercise of the right to self-determination of any Non-Self-Governing Territories—so stated the General Assembly on 11 December in an omnibus resolution on small territories adopted on the recommendation of the Fourth Committee (Decolonization).

The world body reaffirmed the responsibility of the administering Powers to promote the economic and social development of the Territories and preserve their cultural identity. It also recommended that priority continue to be given to the strengthening and diversification of their economies.

In debate, delegates pointed out that the basic political rights of the people of the Territories could only be implemented under stable economic conditions and that promoting economic development was an integral part of the decolonization process.

Most delegates agreed that the positive contribution of foreign investment in facilitating an improved standard of living was indisputable.

The Fourth Committee, after reviewing the report on the work of the Special Committee on decolonization in 1991, adopted a total of 21 resolutions and decisions.

In a text on Western Sahara, the Assembly expressed its full support for the Secretary-General's efforts in the organization and supervision by the UN, in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity, of a referendum for self-determination of the people of that territory *(see page 69)*.

The Assembly stressed that the "ultimate goal" of the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism (1990-1999) is the "free exercise of the right to self-determination by the peoples of each and every of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories". It also declared that exercise of that right "should be carried out freely and without outside pressure".

Recognizing that the implementation of the 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples required concrete mechanisms of international assistance, especially in terms of economic growth and development, as well as environmental protection, the Assembly indicated that a major role should be played by UN specialized agencies and international financial institutions. Those agencies were asked to take appropriate measures to accelerate the economic and social progress in the Territories, and create conditions for development after self-determination and independence.

In a concluding statement, Committee Chairman Charles S. Flemming of Saint Lucia said "substantial watershed progress" had been made in enhancing the level of political cooperation. A high degree of understanding and willingness to negotiate had prevailed during extensive consultations and a spirit of compromise was demonstrated in the course of the session.

The Assembly condemned the activities of those foreign economic and other interests that were impeding the implementation of the 1960 Declaration on decolonization.

The Assembly also strongly condemned the collaboration with South Africa by certain countries, as well as transnational corporations, and urged all States to maintain the existing sanctions against that regime. Continued alienation of land for military installations in colonial Territories, particularly the small islands in the Pacific and Caribbean regions, was also a subject of concern.

The General Assembly reiterated that colonial Territories and adjacent areas should not be used for nuclear testing, dumping of nuclear wastes or deployment of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

UN Photo 134444

The 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Sixth Committee: *Enhancing UN role*

● Assembly approves Fact-finding Declaration, Handbook on settling disputes

In a major step aimed at improving the fulfilment by the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Secretary-General of their peace-keeping and peacemaking functions, the Assembly adopted a Declaration on Fact-finding by the United Nations in the Field of the Maintenance of International Peace and Security. It acted on 9 December, approving a total of 14 resolutions and two decisions as recommended by its Sixth Committee (Legal).

The new Declaration states that fact-finding should be "comprehensive, objective, impartial and timely". Dispatch of fact-finding missions could "signal the concern" of the Organization and should aim to build confidence and defuse the dispute or situation "while avoiding any aggravation of it". The Secretary-General should consider fact-finding as a means of providing early warning of disputes and would undertake missions either at the request of States concerned or on his own initiative.

Another major achievement was the approval of the Handbook on the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes between States. The Assembly asked the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization to give priority in 1992 to the question of the maintenance of international peace and security in all its aspects in order to strengthen the role of the UN.

The Assembly praised the adoption of the final draft articles on jurisdictional immunities of States and their property, asking to consider the convening of an international conference to conclude a convention on the subject. It also noted adoption on first reading of two sets of provisional draft articles—on the law of the non-navigational uses of international watercourses and on a draft code of crimes against the peace and security of mankind. The International Law Commission was asked to discuss establishment of an international criminal court or other international criminal trial mechanism.

Also of major importance was the Assembly's decision on the new item: exploitation of the environment as a weapon in times of armed conflict *(see page 60).*

Against the background of the Middle East peace talks, the Committee debate on international terrorism was not as confrontational as in previous years. In a consensus resolution, which specified that its terms should not prejudice the right to self-determination of peoples living under colonial or racist regimes, the Assembly unequivocally condemned, as criminal and unjustifiable, all acts, methods and practices of terrorism wherever and by whomever committed.

The Assembly also welcomed the joint efforts of the UN Secretariat and the International Court of Justice to publish in all official languages summaries of World Court judgements and advisory opinions (1949-1990), and to update this publication in future years.

In an effort to rationalize its work, the Committee removed two long-standing items from its agenda—one on draft articles on most-favoured-nation clauses and the other on development and strengthening of good-neighbourliness between States.

In a concluding statement, Sixth Committee Chairman Pedro Comissario Afonso of Mozambique cited the "constructive and businesslike spirit" of their work, with a record number of resolutions adopted "without any dissenting voice". That was because of the "sense of moderation and compromise", which demonstrated that States were able to "get together behind closed doors" to bridge differences of opinions.

Other issues

A resolution on legal aspects of the new international economic order was the only one adopted by recorded vote. Under its terms, the Assembly established a working group to develop principles and norms of international law relating to a New International Economic Order.

The Assembly invited States to make contributions to the programme of the UN Decade of International Law (1990-1999) and asked for financial assistance for developing countries to attend meetings of the UN Commission on International Trade Law. It expressed satisfaction at discussions held on draft articles on the status of the diplomatic courier and diplomatic bag.

Also adopted were texts urging the host country to prevent any interference in the functioning of UN missions and calling for informal consultations on an additional protocol on consular functions to the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations.

Chronicle BookWatch

Change: Threat or Opportunity for Human Progress?

Edited by Uner Kirdar
United Nations Publications, New York, 1992
5 vols., $75. Sales No. E.91.III.B.10
ISBN 92-1-126029-9

To mark the fortieth anniversary of UNDP and its predecessors in multilateral technical cooperation, more than 130 eminent persons from 34 countries participated in the Round Table on Global Development Challenges held at Antalya, Turkey, in September 1990. The papers presented are grouped into five thematic volumes on political, economic, market, social and ecological change. Uner Kirdar, Director of the UNDP Development Study Programme, skillfully summarizes the key concerns and conclusions of the Round Table in the "Antalya Statement" and provides a useful "issues-and-questions" introduction to each volume.

World Economic Survey 1991/92: A Reader

UN Department of International Economic and Social Affairs
United Nations Publications, New York, 1991
350 pp., $17.95. Sales No. E.91.II.C.2
ISBN 92-1-109121-7

Through skillful editing and writing, the recently published *World Economic Survey 1991* has been transformed into a reader for students and the interested general public. Chapters review the world economy, the situation in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the economic implications of the end of the cold war, energy and environment, international trade and finance, debt reduction of developing countries, and the impact of poverty on women.

The UNHCR at 40: Refugee Protection at the Crossroads

Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, New York, 1991
162 pp. $10. ISBN 0-934143-39-0

Iain Guest, a journalist distinguished for reporting on human rights issues, has written an insightful and provocative review of UNHCR. With an estimated 30 million people uprooted worldwide, Guest's findings and recommendations for UNHCR's future are especially timely.

Population, Resources and the Environment: The Critical Challenges

UN Population Fund, New York, 1991
160 pp., $24.75. ISBN 0-89714-101-6

The book brings to a non-technical audience, in a readable and compact format, the ideas, data and case studies for understanding the complex linkages between population, natural resources and environment. Arguing that the "daunting challenge" confronting the world is "to bring growing human numbers and their growing needs into balance with the natural resource base that underpins much development", author Norman Myers outlines the actions needed at the international, national and local levels.

Letters of Life

Photographs by Dominique Roger
UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
Editions Nathan, Paris, 1991
125 pp., ISBN 2-09-284-763-5

With 52 superb photographs by Dominique Roger and the same number of mini-essays by an international array of educators, artists, scientists, actors, government officials, philosophers, journalists and others, UNESCO has created an exquisite book in support of the global campaign for literacy. The letters of the alphabet are used to organize the photographs and the texts, which are printed in French, English and Spanish.

Protecting Working Children

Edited by William E. Myers
United Nations Children's Fund
Zed Books, London, 1991
185 pp., ISBN 1-85649-007-6 (Paperback)

In a world where most children work, protecting them from exploitation and threats to their development is a matter for concern and action. William Myers, an internationally known expert who has worked with UNICEF, brings together recent studies on the situation of working and street children in Nigeria, Sudan, India, the Philippines, Peru and Brazil. Two other essays offer a global review of developments in public policy and social mobilization to protect these children.

**Reviewed by Harold Fruchtbaum,
Professor, Columbia University, New York**

A Look Back: Forty Years

UN Photo 33473/L.R.

Signing in 1951 of the Postal Agreement between the UN and the United States.

UN Stamps: Messengers of Peace

By Elsa B. Endrst

On 24 October, the United Nations Postal Administration (UNPA) celebrated its fortieth anniversary.

Because UN stamps artistically portray the worldwide work of the UN, the goals of UNPA go far beyond the boundaries of ordinary philately.

UNPA Chief Anthony Fouracre—often called the "Postmaster of the World"—said that more than 900 different stamps had been issued over the past four decades, stamps symbolizing UN concerns and at the same time generating some $18 million gross income a year for the world Organization.

On 28 March 1951, representatives of the United States and of the UN signed an agreement establishing UNPA. Similar agreements were executed in 1968 with the Swiss Postal Telephone and Telegraph Enterprise and in 1979 with Austria to issue UN stamps in Swiss franc and Austrian schilling denominations, respectively.

UNPA has the unique status of being the only organization in the world, not a government, which may issue its own postage stamps.

UN Photo 177573/M. Grant

Mr. Fouracre
'Postmaster of the World'

Stamp collectors play a major role in the life of UNPA. While most government postal administrations produce stamps primarily to process mail, some 85 per cent of UN stamps are bought by collectors.

The three UNPA offices—in New York, Geneva and Vienna—have very different relationships with collectors, according to Mr. Fouracre. New York deals mostly with individuals, while a large proportion of the sales of the two European offices are to dealers.

There seems little doubt that the future success of UNPA lies in the expansion of its collector market, Mr. Fouracre continues. While there have been no definite commitments, UNPA is in the process of negotiating with dealers or agents in various countries to develop sales markets in other regions. The purpose, he stresses, is not only to sell UN stamps, but also to get the message of the UN to places not reached in the past in this way.

The UNPA slogan—Touch the World, Collect UN Stamps—draws attention to issues of global importance, including environment, human rights, hunger and the pursuit of peace.

Mr. Fouracre says that he takes great pleasure in the enthusiasm with which many renowned artists, who contribute to the work of UNPA, view the successes of the Organization and depict its programmes and ideals.

''Designing stamps is a very particular field'', he notes. One difficulty his Administration faces is that some important themes do not easily lend themselves to postage stamp images.

UNPA designs are chosen in two ways: by international competition and by direct commission to noted artists. The current UNPA roster includes some 300 designers from 40 countries.

UN stamps are printed all over the world by firms offering high quality printing, under tight security control, at the most reasonable rates. Only a limited quantity is issued, usually around 4.8 million per issue. ''Collectors say they appreciate the quality of UN stamps'', Mr. Fouracre says proudly.

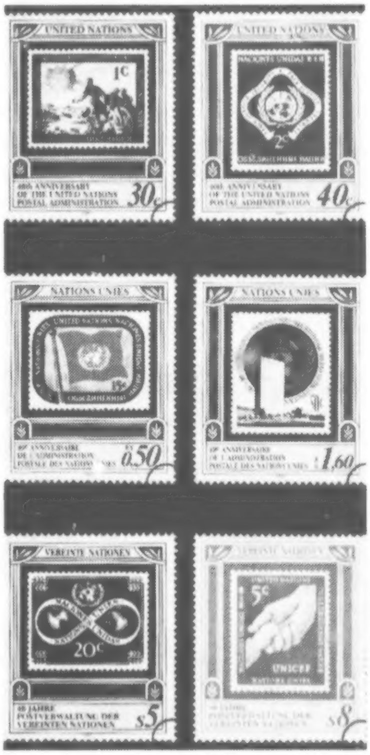
Stamps are issued six times a year simultaneously at the three UN postal offices. They can either be bought directly or ordered by mail. They are also available in some 110 countries through UN Information Centres or UN Development Programme field offices.

Most commercial stamp dealers around the world also sell UN stamps. However, UN stamps must be posted at a UN post office and not through a government post office in the same city.

Some UN stamps are issued in series. The latest began in 1989 and deals with human rights. The entire text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights will be reproduced using works of art that span many cultures. Another popular series depicted, in batches, the flags of UN Member States.

To celebrate its fortieth anniversary, six new commemorative stamps, featuring reproductions of the first stamps issued by UNPA, were issued.

40th
Anniversary
of
the
UN Postal
Administration



ASSEMBLY ALMANAC

UN Photo 178868/P. Sudhakaran

UN Photo 178884/J. Isaac

'NEW HORIZONS' In his annual UN Day message, on 24 October, Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar said the world Organization had become the "rallying point" for a new order of peace and justice. "We see new horizons opening for humanity's political advance", he said. The role of the UN was "no longer peripheral and its purpose no longer questioned. It has proved both its relevance and its capability." The traditional UN Day concert attended by many delegates to the 46th Assembly featured the Tokyo Symphony Orchestra conducted by Kazuyoshi Akiyama *(see above)*.

Among other things, the 46th Assembly, in addition to action covered throughout this magazine:

- Strongly condemned the October coup in Haiti, including the "illegal replacement" of the constitutionally-elected President, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who addressed both the Assembly and the Security Council after the coup. On 3 October, the Council called for restoration of that country's legitimate Government.

UN Photo 178412/M. Grant

Haiti's President *(centre)* meets New York Mayor Dinkins *(left)*.

- Elected, concurrently with the Security Council, Bola Ajibola of Nigeria to the International Court of Justice. He fills the vacancy caused by the death on 14 August 1991 of Judge Taslim Olawale Elias, also of Nigeria.

- Called on all States to cooperate in promoting the objectives of its 1986 declaration of a zone of peace in the South Atlantic. It deferred consideration of the question of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) to 1992.

- Reaffirmed the sovereignty of the Comoros over the island of Mayotte, asking France to accelerate the process of negotiations in that regard. France voted against the resolution.

- Called on the UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation to continue studying the effects of the risks of such radiation, and asked States and organizations to provide data on doses, effects and risks from various radiation sources.

♦ Deferred to 1992 consideration of the question of a United States economic embargo against Cuba—a new item placed on the agenda at Cuba's request in 1991.

♦ Denounced any State that permits or tolerates the recruitment, use, financing or training of mercenaries, and asked for ratification of the International Convention on that subject.

♦ Officially adopted the "New Agenda" for the Development of Africa in the 1990s, the strategy formulated in the wake of the less than successful five-year Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development, adopted at a special Assembly session in 1986. The Assembly also observed on 28 October a special day devoted to African debt relief.

♦ Asked that the convening of a second UN Conference on Human Settlements (HABITAT II) be considered in 1992.

♦ Asked the UN Secretary-General, in cooperation with the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, to establish a World Commission on Culture and Development, which would prepare a report on long-term action to meet cultural needs in the context of development.

♦ Urged all countries to ensure freedom of the press and called for promotion of a more comprehensive and realistic image of the activities and potential of the UN system.

♦ Initiated consideration of activities to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the UN in 1995.

♦ OTHER NEWS ♦

Other news emanating from the UN and related organizations during the course of the 46th Assembly included:

♦ The conclusion by Secretary-General Pérez de Cuéllar, set out in his 9 December report *(S/23273)* to the Security Council, that Iraq's "attack of 22 September 1980" against Iran "entails the responsibility for the conflict" between the two neighbouring countries. No action was taken in this regard by the Council.

♦ The dedication on 17 December at Headquarters of a plaque honouring the architects of the UN complex along the East River, completed in 1951. From 10 different countries, they included such notables as Le Corbusier, Wallace Harrison and Oscar Niemeyer. The cornerstone was laid on 24 October 1949 at an open-air meeting, addressed by then United States President Harry S Truman. Occupancy of the familiar glass-tower Secretariat building began in August 1950.

♦ Russian President Boris Yeltsin on 24 December informed the Secretary-General that the membership of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in the UN, including the Security Council, would be continued by the Russian Federation (RSFSR), with the support of the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

♦ Meetings of four human rights bodies at the Palais des Nations in Geneva between 30 September and 13 December: the Committee on the Rights of the Child; the Human Rights Committee; the Committee against Torture; and the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

♦ The appointment of Catherine Anne Bertini, former Assistant Secretary of Agriculture for the United States, to a five-year term as Executive Director of the World Food Programme (WFP). She succeeds James C. Ingram.

♦ The voyage of the "Gaia", a 78-foot-replica of a ninth-century Viking ship, from Norway to Brazil, where it was scheduled to arrive in time for the June 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio. At a stopover in New York, a group of children delivered a message to its captain, Ragnar Thorseth, to be given by him to the "Earth Summit", urging that children's issues and their future be placed high on its agenda.

The "Gaia".

UNICEF Photo/Ruby Mera

Coming Up. . .

A preview of some important United Nations conferences and events

April-June 1992

New York

8-15 April	Commission on Transnational Coporations, 18th session, second part
20 April-11 May	Disarmament Commission, substantive session
4-22 May	United Nations Commission on International Trade Law, 25th session
4-29 May	Committee for Programme and Coordination, 32nd session, first part
18-22 May	Ad hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean
May	Trusteeship Council, 59th session
15-26 June	Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, 35th session
29 June-31 July	Economic and Social Council, regular session

Geneva

6-10 April	Preparatory Committee for the Second Review Conference of the Parties to the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques
20-24 April	Board of Trustees of the Voluntary Fund for Indigenous Populations
21 April-1 May	UNCTAD—Trade and Development Board, 38th session, second part
27 April-8 May	Committee against Torture, 8th session
4-15 May	WHO—World Health Assembly, 45th session
4-29 May	UNDP—Governing Council, 39th session
4 May-24 July	International Law Commission, 44th session
11 May-26 June	Conference on Disarmament, second part
3-24 June	ILO—General Conference, 79th session

Vienna

6-15 April	Commission on Narcotic Drugs, 35th session
4-15 May	International Narcotics Control Board, 52nd session
18-22 May	UNIDO—Industrial Development Board, 9th session
15-19 June	Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation, 41st session

Other Locations

8-15 April	ECLAC, 24th session, Santiago
14-23 April	ESCAP, 48th session, Beijing
25 May-30 June	ICAO—Council, 136th session, Montreal
1-12 June	UN Conference on Environment and Development, Rio de Janeiro

Presidents of the General Assembly

NAME	COUNTRY	YEAR
1. Paul-Henri Spaak	Belgium	1946
2. Oswaldo Aranha	Brazil	1947
3. H. V. Evatt	Australia	1948
4. Carlos P. Romulo	Philippines	1949
5. Nasrollah Entezam	Iran	1950
6. Luis Padilla Nervo	Mexico	1951
7. Lester B. Pearson	Canada	1952
8. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit	India	1953
9. Eelco N. van Kleffens	Netherlands	1954
10. José Maza	Chile	1955
11. Prince Wan Waithayakon	Thailand	1956
12. Sir Leslie Munro	New Zealand	1957
13. Charles Malik	Lebanon	1958
14. Víctor Andrés Belaúnde	Peru	1959
15. Frederick H. Boland	Ireland	1960
16. Mongi Slim	Tunisia	1961
17. Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan	Pakistan	1962
18. Carlos Sosa Rodríguez	Venezuela	1963
19. Alex Quaison-Sackey	Ghana	1964
20. Amintore Fanfani	Italy	1965
21. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak	Afghanistan	1966
22. Corneliu Manescu	Romania	1967
23. Emilio Arenales Catalán	Guatemala	1968
24. Angie E. Brooks	Liberia	1969
25. Edvard Hambro	Norway	1970
26. Adam Malik	Indonesia	1971
27. Stanislaw Trepczynski	Poland	1972
28. Leopoldo Benites	Ecuador	1973
29. Abdelaziz Bouteflika	Algeria	1974
30. Gaston Thorn	Luxembourg	1975
31. H. S. Amerasinghe	Sri Lanka	1976
32. Lazar Mojsov	Yugoslavia	1977
33. Indalecio Liévano	Colombia	1978
34. Salim A. Salim	United Republic of Tanzania	1979
35. Rüdiger von Wechmar	Federal Republic of Germany	1980
36. Ismat T. Kittani	Iraq	1981
37. Imre Hollai	Hungary	1982
38. Jorge E. Illueca	Panama	1983
39. Paul J. F. Lusaka	Zambia	1984
40. Jaime de Piniés	Spain	1985
41. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury	Bangladesh	1986
42. Peter Florin	German Democratic Republic	1987
43. Dante M. Caputo	Argentina	1988
44. Joseph Nanven Garba	Nigeria	1989
45. Guido de Marco	Malta	1990
46. Samir S. Shihabi	Saudi Arabia	1991

General Assembly Presidents normally preside over special and emergency special sessions of the world body during their tenure. The exceptions were: José Arce of Argentina, who presided over the second special session in 1948, and Rudecindo Ortega of Chile, who presided over the first and second emergency special sessions held in 1956.